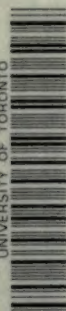


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HITTITE
SEALS

HOGARTH




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HITTITE SEALS



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HITTITE SEALS

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO

THE ASHMOLEAN COLLECTION

BY

D. G. HOGARTH

Keeper of Ashmole's Museum

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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PREFACE

GLYPTIC objects, which are classed in Museums as Syro-Cappadocian or Hittite, have not received the attention due to the variety and interest of their engraved subjects and to their obvious utility for dating other remains. No serious study of the Hittite glyptic family in its archaeological relations has yet been published. Indeed only a few of its members can be said to have been made at all generally known, namely, roller-seals or cylinders of the developed Hittite period together with a few stamp-seals of exceptionally obvious interest which belong to the same comparatively late date. Even these have been treated with an eye almost solely to the interpretation of the scenes engraved upon them without any attempt being made to assign them to particular periods or localities. They have been treated historically, not archaeologically. Nevertheless Hittite glyptic objects are well worth study from all points of view. They constitute the only extant remains which represent all the periods of Hittite civilization, and admit of arrangement in something like a continuous series ; and it is a very real, though minor, count in their favour, that outside half a dozen great museums and West Asia itself, the student usually can see no other Hittite monuments.

I began to interest myself in these objects when, in 1894, I chanced on a number of them in the market of Aintab in North Syria. Mr. (now Sir) Arthur Evans, then Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, took the lot off my hands and incorporated it in a considerable collection whose nucleus, acquired from the late Mr. Greville Chester, had been increased by other gifts, and by purchases made here and there with much judgement. Thus Evans had obtained already such prizes as the Indilimma cylinder, the gold tripod seal from Tamassos, and the silver tripod from Bor (Tyana). When, fifteen years later, I succeeded him as Keeper, I found the Hittite collection more representative than any other known to me of the various types of both roller- and stamp-seals as well as certain classes of amulets. My predecessor had devoted much care and wide archaeological knowledge to the arrangement of the collection, and he left a manuscript sketch of a *catalogue raisonné*, which his work in Crete had not allowed him to complete. He put his notes at my service and I have made full use of them.

During the past seven years I have paid special attention to this Ashmolean collection, and have had unusual opportunities of adding specimens procured in the Near East either by myself or by agents. It is now about twice as large as I found it in 1909

and even more representative. So far as I know, no collection in any other museum or in private hands covers so well the field of Hittite glyptic. Therefore, I have taken it as the basis of the study of the Hittite glyptic family which I now put forward.

The preparation of this study has been hampered by difficulties arising partly from the small amount of comparative material which can be used, partly from the small amount of published work upon that material. For example, very few Hittite glyptic objects, in comparison of the whole extant body, have been published with adequate photographic reproductions. Among publications of collections, I owe most to the catalogue of the cylinders in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, compiled and admirably illustrated with photographs of good impressions by Monsieur L. Delaporte, to whom and to M. Edmond Pottier I am beholden also for casts of Louvre seals.¹ Next in utility I place Hayes Ward's publication of the cylinders in the Morgan Collection at New York. His photographs, however, have not been taken from impressions nearly so good as those made by the Cabinet des Médailles or by the Ashmolean and British Museums; from signs of 'dragging', I judge them to have been rolled out directly from the cylinders themselves, instead of from moulds. Besides these there are hardly any other good photographic illustrations of Hittite seals published. Drawings in Hayes Ward's *Seal Cylinders of West Asia* have been of much service to me, but with this limitation—that they reproduce stylistic qualities very imperfectly. There are others for which I have been thankful, e.g. those published in E. Chantre's *Mission en Cappadoce*, Eduard Meyer's *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, L. Messerschmidt's *Corpus Inscriptionum Hettiticarum*, &c., &c.

While these and other publications have given me many cylinder-impressions to compare with the Ashmolean types, they have rarely represented stamp-seals. To supply this want, and enlarge my own knowledge of cylinders also, I have examined the collections in the British Museum, the Louvre, the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Musée Guimet, and the Museums of Brussels, Berlin, Vienna, Constantinople, and Liverpool.² I owe sincere gratitude to the Directors and other officials of all these institutions, and especially to some who put their time at my particular service, for example, Monsieur E. Pottier of the Louvre, Monsieur L. Speleers of the Musées du Cinquantenaire, Dr. Reimpell of the Vorderasiatische Sammlung at Berlin, and Th. Macridy-Bey of Constantinople.

I did not expect, however, to find in the arrangement of any of these collections greater assistance towards the archaeological classification of Hittite glyptic than I had been able to obtain from books. For, during my first two years of work on the Ash-

¹ To these I often refer in subsequent pages, but I am not at liberty to reproduce any of them. The same inhibition applies to seals in other foreign museums (e.g. at Berlin and Brussels) which I quote.

² I have not been able to go to the United States to see either the Morgan collection or any other Hittite

seals which may be in America; but Hayes Ward's books render a visit to New York less necessary than the examination of other foreign collections. I do not know what Hittite objects there may be in the Russian, Danish, or Scandinavian museums.

molean collection, I had learned that no archaeological classification by periods and localities was feasible on the facts thus far ascertained. In all collections alike an overwhelming proportion (in some collections, all) of the specimens have been acquired with either no, or the vaguest and least trustworthy, data of provenance and original association. Most, in fact, have passed through several hands before reaching dealers far from their land of discovery. Nor, but for new facts ascertained subsequently, should I now be making the attempt which this book embodies. Since 1911, however, certain results of the British Museum's excavation of Carchemish, and still more of the indefatigable inquiries prosecuted by the excavators, Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence, into the circumstances under which the Hittite glyptic objects brought to them from a wide surrounding area had been found, have begun to put a new face on the problem. Their personal excavation of the Carchemish cremation cemeteries at Merj Khamis and Yunus supplied firm vantage ground for assigning definite periods and places to Hittite glyptic objects of the Early Iron Age, and the native excavations of cemeteries at Deve Huyuk extended this information to cover the latest Hittite periods of all. Furthermore, older graves at Amarna, Kara Kusak, Hammam and other places not far distant to the south, combined with the evidence of the strata and the cist-graves on the Carchemish citadel, supplied less certain but still significant indications about Bronze Age glyptic. I learnt also a few invaluable facts from results of the German excavation of Boghazkeui, e.g. from stamped tablets and sealings preserved in the Museum of Constantinople, and something too from Professor Garstang's notes of his discoveries in the mounds of Sakjegeuzi. In the light of all these data I found myself able to make something also of previous evidence which had remained almost without significance, and at last felt encouraged to make a pioneer effort to classify Hittite glyptic.

In 1914 there appeared a study of two Hittite (probably Cappadocian) stamp-seals by Dr. Hugo Prinz, contributed to the notes appended to Eduard Meyer's *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* (pp. 144 ff.). Not to mention the authority which this study acquires from its endorsement by Professor Meyer, its author treats his main subject with so much justice and acumen that his preliminary *obiter dicta* on Hittite glyptic are sure to command attention. I wish, therefore, to enter a *caveat* at once against uncritical acceptance of a view about the less elaborate forms of Hittite stamp-seals adumbrated by Dr. Prinz (so far as I can understand him) in words, which follow a brief and sound judgement upon early Syrian cylinders, and a remark, more open to question, about contemporary stamp-seals, apparently of the handled types. The author goes on to say parenthetically: 'Nicht hierzu gehören die zahlreich in Syrien gefundenen Petschafte, häufig in Kugelform, mit roh eingravierten geometrischen Mustern und Tieren geometrischen Stils. Sie sind nachchetitisch und gehören sämtlich erst in das erste Jahrtausend.'

Now I take Dr. Prinz to be here referring primarily to those spheroidal objects, which hereinafter I call *Bullae*; for, except a few unimportant engraved beads, they are the only truly *kugelförmige* vehicles of Hittite glyptic art. As will be seen later on, I regard the *Bullae* as essentially Hittite, and their earliest examples as belonging even to the period of Hattic Empire. But I also suspect that along with those objects Dr. Prinz means by his words to sweep into the limbo of late post-Hittite things all the non-handled stamp-seals, which he passes by with the sole remark, 'sehr viele habe ich im Kunsthandel in Aleppo gesehen'. If this is his view, the pages to come will, I hope, refute it; nor can I understand how he can have formed such an opinion, if he had studied the common handleless forms with anything like the attention which he has given to the elaborate handled forms.

The other serious difficulty which I have met and meet still is occasioned by the unsatisfactory dating of the kindred glyptic family of Mesopotamia—so far at any rate as published specimens go.¹ Not myself competent in Babylonian or Assyrian studies, I hoped to be able to obtain from others definitely dated material for comparison. But I have found very little close dating in any of the best works on Mesopotamian glyptic. No doubt, when the scientific German excavations, made during the past two decades in Babylonia and Assyria, come to be fully published, there will be little left to desire; but until that moment comes there remains much. The deficiency results from the fact that in all great Mesopotamian excavations, previous to the German, the interest of the excavators was not directed to small objects of any kind except cuneiform records, and hardly ever to careful observation of the contents of graves. In consequence, not only is Mesopotamian glyptic at fault, but so also is the archaeology of most of the minor Mesopotamian arts. We know less, for example, of Babylonian or Assyrian ceramics than of the pottery of any other great ancient civilization.

In my difficulty I have obtained what help I could from individual Assyriologists familiar with Mesopotamian glyptic, and most from Professor L. W. King, Assistant-Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. To him hereby I confess a deep obligation, while careful to absolve him from any responsibility for views hereinafter put forward, unless they are stated expressly to be his.

It will be seen from my commentary in Chapter III that the arrangement of specimens in my plates is tentative and intended to be not too definite in many instances. I often suggest that a seal or group of seals may belong more appropriately to a different place in the series than that in which it is actually figured. In the present stage such fluidity of arrangement seems to me inevitable.

Only too conscious that, partly owing to the difficulties mentioned above, I am not equipped with nearly so much comparative knowledge as is required for making

¹ So far as I am aware, none of the greater museums, in London, Paris, Berlin, or elsewhere, has published any modern catalogue of its Mesopotamian seals. But

one of the Louvre collection, which will be invaluable, is in preparation

a final archaeological classification of Hittite glyptic, and also that the inchoate stage, which general Hittite archaeology has reached, barely permits the attempt to be worth making, I offer this essay. I can say in all sincerity, chastened by consciousness of many false starts and wrong turnings, many unsatisfied doubts and many problems unresolved, that I hope my attempt may incite some one else to put out a more satisfactory study of Hittite glyptic.

All glyptic objects, figured either in the plates or the text, are represented the full size of the originals. I have to thank the Director of the British Museum and the Keepers of the Departments of Oriental and Classical Antiquities for permission to reproduce almost all the seals which appear as insets in the text of Chapter III.

D. G. H.

Oxford,
May, 1915.

POSTSCRIPT. This study was completed and put into the printers' hands in 1915, but the manuscript could not be dealt with by the Press till the end of the War. Reading it again in 1919, after long detachment from its subject and absorption in interests remote from it, I find myself so little able to reconsider my study to good purpose that, unless there is to be further indefinite delay, I must let it go to press substantially as written four years ago. I am not aware of any discovery or publication during the War which affects its main contentions or conclusions,¹ but am prepared to learn in due time that, e.g., some of the recent work done by German scholars upon Cappadocian and other material has a bearing upon them.

D. G. H.

Oxford,
May, 1919.

¹ A notable exception is the *Catalogue des Intailles et Empreintes Orientales des Musées Royaux de Cinquante-tenaire* (Brussels, 1917). Owing to the extension of my war-service into the summer of 1919, I remained unaware till too late that M. Louis Speleers had succeeded in issuing his projected Catalogue. Under the circumstances I could take no adequate account of it in my text, and therefore have not interpolated

any reference to it. But I hope to discuss points both of agreement and difference in a supplementary study which will publish also the more important and interesting of the numerous Hittite cylinders and stamp-seals, added to the Ashmolean collection since 1914, and not dealt with in the following pages. Numerically they swell the collection by more than fifty per cent.

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INTRODUCTION

AREA AND PERIOD OF HITTITE GLYPTIC

THE *Area* in which Hittite glyptic was produced can be determined only by the distribution of larger Hittite monuments, since, for reasons stated on p. 16, the provenance of such small objects as seals is apt to be uncertain, and, even when known, does not indicate beyond doubt the original locality of production. The larger Hittite monuments carved on living rock or on stones which are either *in situ* or so ponderous that they are not likely to have moved far after leaving the carver's hands, are distributed, so far as is known at present, over all Asia Minor except the north-west and south-west, and over North Syria almost as far southward as Homs on the Orontes and Meskinah on the Euphrates, with an outlying fringe on the Mesopotamian bank of the latter river. No large Hittite stones have come to light outside the above area, with the exception of some found at Babylon, which almost certainly were transported thither from original positions in Syria or Asia Minor.

Nevertheless, it is not safe, on our actual knowledge, to include any part of western Asia Minor in the Hittite glyptic area. The Hittite monuments found west of the Axylon plain are too few and far between to offer convincing evidence of local occupation by a Hittite people, or even by Hittite culture. They may be memorials of no more than occasional raids from Cappadocia. Therefore, in Asia Minor, the Hittite area had better be restricted (for the present) to the lands between the Axylon and the Euphrates and between the Axylon and the Cyprian Sea—that is, to the lands known later as Cappadocia, Lycaonia, Cilicia, and Cataonia. To these must be added the north and the north-central districts of Syria.

This was an area of distinctively Hittite culture at a certain period, but not necessarily an area either completely inhabited by Hittite races, or comprehending the whole radius of Hittite culture. On the one hand it includes some races who were almost certainly not kin to the Cappadocian Hatti—the representative 'Hittites'. On the other hand it excludes more than one region, e. g. north-central Mesopotamia, which we know (from Oppenheim's researches at Tell Halaf) to have had a culture related to the Hittite; in other excluded lands, e. g. Phrygia, Cyprus, and Phoenicia, Hittite art can be shown to have exercised influence. What, however, that area does include is all regions in which Hittite culture appears to have been the predominant element and responsible for the local contemporary glyptic.

The *Period* during which this Area, as a whole, was Hittite in civilization, covers, roughly, fourteen centuries, from about 2000 B.C., the higher limit, to 600 B.C. the lower. It may be divided for convenience into four Ages corresponding to phases of Hittite political history.

- I. *Primitive*, prior to about 1500 B.C.
- II. *Hattic (Cappadocian-Hittite)*, from about 1500 B.C. to 1200 B.C.
- III. *Moschian-Hattic*, from 1200 B.C. to about 1000 B.C.
- IV. *Moschian-Assyrian*, from 1000 B.C. to 600 B.C.

I. We know that Carchemish was in existence as a city at least as early as 2000 B.C., on the evidence of two tablets of the First Babylonian Dynasty on which the adjectival, *Karkamisu*, occurs ;¹ and, further, that this Dynasty was brought to an end by the action of a Hattic people about two centuries later. Whence, precisely, these Hattic invaders came we are not told. The broad fact, however, stands that, before 1800 B.C., some Hattic power was sufficiently expansive and organized to push right down to Babylonia and overbear the most civilized state of West Asia. This power, even if its home-land was not Syria, must have passed southward through that country, and both in going and returning, have left some trace there.

These invaders held their Babylonian conquest for a few years only. Thereafter their name is not heard for about three centuries, their next appearance in recorded history being subsequent to 1500 B.C. In 1468 Thothmes III made an expedition into Euphratean Syria. Certain 'Hatti' sent him propitiatory gifts ; but they came, apparently, from afar, and Carchemish, in whose vicinity the Pharaoh was at the time, is not stated in the Egyptian record to have been theirs. In the light of Boghazkeui documents which record history of less than a century later, it is reasonable to suppose that this Hattic embassy came from beyond Taurus, and represented the nascent Cappadocian power, destined to emerge into prominence during the reign of Thothmes' successor. The only other records of Hittites which (perhaps) refer to a period before 1500 B.C. are Hebrew patriarchal traditions such as one embodied in Genesis xxv. 9, 10, that Abraham bought land at Hebron from a Hittite.

These scattered notices justify the presumption that for a long time prior to 1500 B.C. there had been organized Hattic societies in Eastern Asia Minor and also in Syria, and something which can be called a Hittite civilization in both regions. In Cappadocia, excavation has not yet brought to light any positive evidence of such an early period ; but in Syria, excavations at Djerabis (Carchemish) and Sakjegeuzi (ancient name unknown), and, perhaps, in the lowest stratum on the citadel of Sindjerli (Shamal), have revealed a local civilization of the latest Neolithic and early Bronze Ages, whose ceramic work was on a par with that of the Lower Euphratean culture of the time. Painted ware of late Neolithic period, found at Carchemish (in a low stratum of the citadel mound and also on the site of some kilns outside the city), is so near akin, in fabric, form, and decoration, to that of the 'Second Neolithic' period at Susa,² that it argues an intimate cultural relation between the Lower Euphratean civilization of the period and the North Syrian, and even suggests that the Late Neolithic civilization of North Syria was Babylonian. Early in the Bronze Age, illustrated by the contents of cist-graves at Carchemish, Syria began to develop cultural independence, stimulated by the incursion of some fresh racial element, probably the Hattic of Cappadocia, whose repressive influence on Semitic expansion may be inferred from that invasion of Babylonia before 1800 B.C. alluded to above.

For Cappadocia archaeological evidence is wanting. North of the Taurus no Neolithic and Early Bronze Age strata or graves have been explored scientifically. If certain cuneiform tablets, acquired chiefly in Europe from dealers but traced in some instances to sites (e.g. Kara Eyuk) in the vicinity of Kaisariyeh, really include documents as old as the Dynasty of Ur, as Sayce and others maintain,³ we may infer that

¹ L. W. King in British Museum, *Excavations at Djerabis*, p. 17 (hereinafter referred to as *Carch. I*).

² See Pottier, 'La Céramique peinte de Suse' (*Mém. de la Délégation en Perse*, xiii). Also Garstang

in *Liverpool Annals*, 1908, p. 116, pl. 48.

³ The latest authority to accept this early dating is Professor C. W. H. Johns (*Schweich Lectures*, 1914, p. 88)

any culture which Cappadocia possessed before 1500 B.C. was Mesopotamian in character, though, after 2000 B.C. its fountain-head seems to have been Assyria, not Babylonia. The official use of cuneiform by the Hattic Dynasty in the next Age certainly supports such an inference. But, in view of the possibility that, in the Early Bronze Age, the typical culture which supplanted the Neolithic and is called by Woolley¹ 'Early Middle Hittite' was introduced into Syria from Cappadocia, we must suspend judgement pending further research: for that culture is not Assyrian, nor even distinctively Mesopotamian.

Since no large monuments of the First Age have yet been found in either Cappadocia or Syria, we have no sculpture to compare with glyptic objects, if it be proposed to ascribe any of the Hittite family to so early a time.

II. The *Hattic* (i.e. *Cappadocian-Hittite*) Age was dominated by a Hattic Power, which exercised political influence throughout the whole Hittite Area, defined above, and, beyond doubt, was responsible for some measure of cultural community therein. It is an Age, therefore, in which we may expect a certain uniformity in Hittite art. The earliest Hattic prince, more than whose name is known to us, was one Khattusil, reigning at Boghazkeui late in the fifteenth century. From a record of his son, Shubiluliuma, it can be gathered that Khattusil's predecessors (one of whom, perhaps, it was who sent presents to Thothmes III in 1468) had been clients of Assyria since some date unknown, and that Khattusil first asserted Cappadocian independence. Shubiluliuma marched south about 1375 B.C. to carve a realm out of Syrian and Mesopotamian lands which had subsisted previously in a loose dependence upon Egypt, and a more real subjection to the local Mitannian power seated in North-west Mesopotamia. Since Egyptian culture does not seem to have been spread far beyond the Egyptian frontier by the forces of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the Mitannian civilization was, in some respects, near kin of the Hittite, we may safely assume some cultural community between Syria and Cappadocia even before Shubiluliuma's actual conquest of any part of the former land.

This Hattic Power came to an end about 1200 B.C. in a cataclysm which affected the whole Area. A record of Rameses III, graven on a pylon at Medinet Habu, states that a horde which swept through Palestine to attack the frontier of Egypt had devastated, on its way, Hatti (Cappadocia), Kedi (Cilicia), and Carchemish (North Syria), i.e. the whole Hittite Area from north to south. Before that date the Boghazkeui archives come to an end. Their latest document emanates from a King, Arnaunta, of the second generation after Khattusil II; we know him to have been reigning for several years after 1280.

Thereafter the Cappadocian culture probably weakened, but not with the same rapidity or to the same extent in all parts of the Area. While it survived long in the south-east of Asia Minor and, indeed, revived to inspire Syrian art down to the close of the Hittite period, its fate in northern Cappadocia is very uncertain on present evidence.

(a) *Cappadocia*. About 1150, as annals of Tiglath Pileser I, of Assyria, inform us half a century later, another northern horde, led by the Mushkayan people, swept into, and established itself in, Northern Mesopotamia. Whence it had come and by what route we are not told. Tiglath Pileser forced it back over the Euphrates into Syria, whither he followed it as far at least as Mount Bisri (?=Tell Basher in the Sajur valley), then in Aramaean hands. For nearly four hundred years after that event the Mushkaya do not reappear in history: but in the time of Sargon III we find a people of that name

¹ See *Liverpool Annals*, vol. vi, p. 87, 'Hittite Burial Customs'.

settled in Cappadocia under a King Mita who was leagued with the princes of Carchemish and other North Syrian states against Assyria. They were still in Cappadocia nearly a century later, when Ashurbanipal had many relations with them. A remnant long survived there to be known to Greek geographers as the Moschi.

What effect had these tumultuous events of the twelfth century on Hittite culture? If the Mushkaya (Moschians) had already taken possession of the home-lands of the Hatti before their raid into the South about 1150 B.C. (as is not improbable), they had every opportunity of acquiring a Hittite culture; and this may either have guided their footsteps towards civilization, or improved any prior culture they had. Evidence in south-east Asia Minor shows that its peoples certainly continued to use the Hittite art and script far into the first millennium B.C. Have we, however, any positive reason to ascribe a Hittite culture to the Mushkaya? So far as Syria goes a partial answer can be given at once. Though the Mushkaya must have been a power there for at least half a century, from 1150 to 1100, the Hattic character of Syrian culture was certainly not diminished by them. On the contrary, that character is more evident after than before 1100 B.C. As regards Northern Cappadocia we have less evidence and it is of less certain bearing. Independently of the larger monuments of Hittite character, whose date and social ascription depend on the answer to this very question, there are only the following items of evidence.

(1) The remains of the kings, who under the names Gordius and Midas ruled in the Sangarius basin in the eighth and seventh centuries, may represent a later Mushkayan civilization, if we may judge by the occurrence of inscriptions in Phrygian characters and language at Eyuk Aladja and Tyana (the inscription found at the last-named site contains the name Mita). This 'Phrygian' power was established in North and South Cappadocia just about the time when the Assyrian records tell us of Mita's Mushkayan kingdom there. But the culture, attested by the Sangarius monuments, is of West Anatolian (not East Anatolian) character, that is to say, it is non-Hittite. It is, however, obvious that remains of the eighth, or, at earliest, the ninth century, have no necessary bearing on the question of the character of Mushkayan culture in the twelfth century: and, moreover, it has to be remembered that both among the Phrygian monuments, and also west and east of them, monuments of Hittite character do occur which may belong to a stratum of Mushkayan culture, modified subsequently by that invasion from South-east Europe which tradition believed to have determined the character of the Phrygian civilization as it was known to Greeks in the last century or so of Phrygian independence.

(2) Certain polished painted wares found at Boghazkeui, and generally in Cappadocia, seem to represent a post-Hattic civilization there. Pottery is the only class of Cappadocian remains, except the architectural, sculptural, and epigraphic, of which sufficient examples have yet been published or brought to Europe to support a general judgement. The most usual of these ceramic types, distinguished either by colour decoration, often polychromatic, laid upon a thick white slip, or by black or purple geometric decoration painted upon a red wash, are wholly unlike wares in use at any time in the southern part of the Hittite Area (Djerabis has yielded, so far, only one sherd representing such types). They are, however, allied to wares found in Western and Northern Anatolia, e.g. at Hissarlik, Ephesus, Sardes, and Ak Alan (Pontus). The strata, which have yielded these parallel wares, are, generally, of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The ceramic evidence, therefore, goes to support the contention that northern Cappadocia and Phrygia shared a common culture during, at any rate, the latest Mushkayan period in the former region—a culture markedly distinct from that of con-

temporary Syria, where, as we shall see, Hattic cultural tradition was certainly the determining factor at the time. On the other hand, we cannot date these Cappadocian wares at present except by their analogy with the Western wares just mentioned; that is to say, we have no grounds for dating them anything like so early as the twelfth century.

Thus both these pieces of evidence leave the question of the cultural effect of the Mushkayan conquest in north Cappadocia open, and do not help us to decide either the original question or a second which is dependent on the answer to the first—Whether any, and, if any, which, Cappadocian, or other Anatolian, Hittite monuments are to be regarded as post-Hattic?

(b) *Cilicia* suffered invasion about 1200 B.C. at the hands of the same horde which devastated Cappadocia. Apart from large monuments and glyptic objects we have no archaeological evidence to cite, and are in worse case than in Cappadocia, because Cilician culture previous to 1200 B.C. is practically unknown. We can only argue from the history of the country under the Second Assyrian Empire and from a certain Syrian phenomenon of the Third and Fourth Ages, to be mentioned in the next section, that (1) *Cilicia* possessed a rich and productive culture before, at any rate, the ninth century, and (2) this culture was partly of Mediterranean, partly of Hittite, character. More will be said in support of these arguments presently.

(c) *Syria*. In regard to this region excavation evidence from Djerabis, Sindjerli, and Sakjegeuzi leaves no doubt that the local culture continued, after 1200 B.C., to be essentially Hattic, in spite of the action of two strong modifying influences to be mentioned in the next section. These influences it so far digested, without losing its Hittite character, that we must suppose *Syria* to have been still occupied, after that date, by a people already 'Hattized' in some measure. Indeed, seeing that its remains of the Third and even the Fourth Ages are more Hittite than those of the Second Age, we may presume that it had lately received some reinforcement from immigrants already possessed of Hittite culture.

To sum up the question, so far as it has been discussed: there is inferential evidence that those who overthrew the Hattic power in *Syria* possessed or adopted Hittite culture. At any rate, they did not destroy, or even seriously impair, the continuity of Hattic cultural tradition there. If so, we can hardly deny, in the absence of positive counter-evidence, the probability that Hattic culture survived awhile the fall of Hattic political power in all parts of *Cappadocia* also; for this region passed under the dominion of the same race, the Mushkayan, which we have credited with conserving that culture in *Syria*. The later history of the two regions, however, seems to have been different. Probably, Hattic cultural tradition survived less strongly and for a briefer space in *Cappadocia* than in *Syria*. About *Cilicia* we had best not venture to generalize at present.



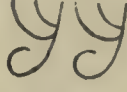
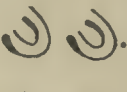
A further question must be asked about the Second Age in the interests of the archaeology of Hittite glyptic. In the light (dim though it be) of what has been said about the several parts of the Hittite Area, can we assert that any, and if any, which, large Hittite monuments are witnesses to the artistic style of the Hattic Age?


Those in the home-land itself, Hattic *Cappadocia*, are most in doubt. Several authorities upon Hittite art or epigraphy have maintained that some of the most typical and important of these (e.g. the reliefs of Yasili Kaia and the Boghazkeui 'King's Gate') belong to a time subsequent to the fall of the Hattic Power. Their reasons are, briefly, that (a) these sculptures are so nearly related, artistically and epigraphically, to Syrian monuments, which those authorities date with confidence later than the

establishment of the Second Assyrian Empire (early ninth century B.C.), that the Cappadocian sculptures in question cannot be so early as 1200 B.C.; (b) the Cappadocian monuments exhibit analogies with the art of the Second Assyrian Empire; (c) their style is that of sculptures belonging to the latest reconstruction of the great Boghazkeui city-walls and gates, which, on various grounds, those authorities regard as having been effected not earlier than about 1000 B.C.

To support this last reason there is practically no evidence independent of the stylistic comparisons on which reasons *a* and *b* are based. Its validity, therefore, depends on their fate. Until lately the plastic art of the Second Empire was the oldest known Assyrian sculpture offering adequate material for study. It had, therefore, to be used for those stylistic comparisons. Though it was obvious that so highly finished a plastic as that of Ashur-nasir-pal must have had a long previous history, its unknown prior stages were supposed to have been Babylonian, and not to affect the comparison with Hittite sculpture, because they had not yet developed the distinctively Assyrian characteristics manifested by the latter. Now, however, the German excavation of Asshur has supplied some notable examples of much earlier Assyrian plastic, belonging to the First Empire, and even to an older period. I call particular attention to the relief on an altar found at Asshur in a building of Tukulti Ninib I (early part of the thirteenth century). Even the small illustration published by Andrae¹ serves to demonstrate sufficiently that its style is as distinctively Assyrian as the style of Ashur-nasir-pal; that this style illustrates a prior stage in a plastic art of similar character to his; and (important for my present purpose) that it approaches nearer than his style to the art of those Hittite sculptures which I shall cite presently as examples of the Hattic Age in Syria.² Now, to this style belong some of the very monuments on which reasons *a* and *b* (above) were based.

It is not only in general conception, pose, and treatment of the figure that this Asshur relief approaches certain Syro-Hittite monuments, but in details, e.g. the fashion of beard on which stress has been laid³ by some who ascribed a Sargonid date to those monuments. It maybe remarked, indeed, about this detail, that monuments available before the excavation of Asshur did not support the conclusion drawn; for, on the one hand, the spirally curled beard without transverse bands of curls appears in the art of Ashur-nasir-pal⁴; on the other, the treatment of curled beards in the Second Syrian Style is not really the same as in the Assyrian art of the Second Empire. Instead of tightly curled spirals arranged one below another at the tip of a multiple strand of hair, we find, in the Syrian sculptures in question, loose single curls ending separate locks. It

is the difference between  and  or  or . In any case we

have now, from Asshur,  sculptures which show that curled beards without transverse belts of curls date back to a very archaic epoch,⁵ and that on the strength of necessary to presume a Second Empire date for the monuments. Nor, so far as I can see, is it necessary or reasonable on any other comparative ground.

¹ *Mitth.* D. O. G. no. 49, p. 36, fig. 5

² See *Carch.* i, pl. B. 9-16 and pl. A. 1 a.

³ Cp. O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Nordsyrien*, p. 376,

and A. S. Murray's endorsement in *Brit. Mus. Excavns. in Cyprus*, p. 13 n.

⁴ Cp. *Brit. Mus. Assyrian Sculptures*, i, pl. ii.

⁵ Cp. *D. O. G.* no. 29, p. 42.

The elaborately developed and highly stylized art of Ashur-nasir-pal has always seemed to me so doubtful a parent for the Syrian 'Second Style', that at one time I looked to some future revelation of Kassite art to explain that style's Mesopotamian features. Of the few Babylonian sculptures of the second millennium known, some (e.g. a *Kudurru* of Nazimaruttash¹) do show, in fact, a rendering of the human figure (still further debased in such later Babylonian work as the stela of Marduk-idin-akhi²) which recalls some Hittite renderings more nearly than any Assyrian work. But, after the revelation of Asshur, I have little doubt that in the last half of the second millennium the mainspring of Mesopotamian art lay in Assyria rather than Babylonia, and that the Kassite and the early Syro-Hittite arts stood in fraternal relation to one parent, not in filial relation to one another.

If, then, the Syrian Second Style need not be affiliated to the art of the Second Assyrian Empire, but is accounted for by that of the First Empire, its period falls, in all probability, in the twelfth and subsequent centuries; and there can be no objection, based upon its monuments, to presuming the sculptures of Yasili Kaia, whose style is purer than theirs and even less like that of the Second Assyrian Empire, to be of the thirteenth century. And, as for the Third Style (King's Gate reliefs at Car-chemish), which I do ascribe to the influence of the Assyrian Second Empire art—if it exhibits still a certain stylistic continuity with Yasili Kaia, the connexion is not more striking than exists between the styles of Tukulti Ninib I and Ashur-nasir-pal; nor is the period which it bridges any longer.

Finally, against all those arguments for dating Yasili Kaia and other sculptures of its style as late as 1000 B.C. must be set the improbability of their cumulative consequence. For if they are well founded, it will follow that we possess no extant plastic monuments at all to represent the original Hattic Kingdom, although this endured nearly two centuries in close relation with the most advanced societies of its time. Indeed, there would be no objective proof that it ever possessed any art, or even any script, of its own.³

This consequence would be rendered inevitable by the inclusion of Yasili Kaia among the latest Cappadocian monuments. If these reliefs are really post-Hattic, virtually all the rest of the principal Hittite sculptures and inscriptions of Asia Minor are so also. The Gate-reliefs of Eyuk Aladja, indeed, are, probably, earlier than the Yasili Kaia reliefs; but they need not be regarded as much earlier, if due allowance be made for the inferior ability of provincial artists cutting a less tractable stone. Their ruder features (e.g. the human form visible below a cloak hanging to the knee) do not counter-balance the identity of their artistic conception and execution, and of details of dress, &c., with the art of Yasili Kaia. The Eyuk reliefs, be it observed, adorned a gate of the same architectural type as the main gates of Boghazkeui, and that gate, as Macridy's excavations⁴ have shown, is not the earliest structure on its site. It is, therefore, unlikely that they belong to any very remote period; nor, as a matter of fact, have they ever been regarded as much earlier than Yasili Kaia. As for the rest of the Anatolian sculptures, rock-reliefs at Giaur Kalessi, Nymphi, and Fraktin are of Yasili Kaia style. I know no other Anatolian sculptures which, on any good ground, can be regarded

¹ *Mém. Délég. en Perse*, ii, pl. 18.

² Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. Art, Chaldaea*, ii, fig. 43.

³ An even more sweeping conclusion might have been drawn—that none of the great Hittite monuments was the work of the eponymous Hittite people, the Hatti—were it not possible to plead that the Hattic race with

its art may have survived Hattic power either in Syria or in Cappadocia or in both, and that, therefore, post-Hattic monuments might still be the work of Hatti.

⁴ See *La Porte des Sphinx à Euyuk*, par Th. Macridy-Bey (*Mitteil. d. Vorderas. Gesellschaft*, 1908, 3).

as earlier than Eyuk—not even the most primitive of the Boghazkeui gate-lions. Nor, again, are there any inscriptions whose character-forms suggest that they antedate, by any considerable interval, the script-characters which appear in certain panels at Yasili Kaia. The Emir Ghazi and Kölitölu-Yaila inscriptions may, possibly, be a little earlier. The same must be said about two bases sculptured and inscribed in a rather barbarous style which have been found at Boghazkeui and are now in the Imperial Ottoman Museum. They are rude examples of the same style as the Yasili Kaia reliefs, and not necessarily much earlier work.

Pending further light, which research may throw on the Anatolian monuments, I propose the following sequence of North Cappadocian sculptures.

(1) Eyuk Aladja, the gate reliefs and sphinxes : Boghazkeui, the gateway-lions of earliest style and the two bases.

(2) Yasili Kaia.

(3) The King's Gate relief at Boghazkeui.

I believe that all these belong to the Hattic period—the Second Age. Group 1 is probably of the fourteenth century ; groups 2 and 3 are probably of the thirteenth century, and witness to the reigns of Khattusil II and his successor. I doubt if any post-Hattic Hittite monuments are extant in North Cappadocia ; whereas, in the south-east, there are about fifty as at present known. But this is not to say that, in the north, post-Hattic Hittite work will not come to light when excavation is carried further, and may not prove eventually that the old culture took no inconsiderable time to die out under the Mushkayan or other new lords of Boghazkeui and the rest of northern Cappadocia.

Whether there exist any Cilician and Syrian monuments of the Second Age will be discussed in connexion with the next two Ages. Monuments of both the latter Ages, which can be dated independently, will serve for standards of retrospective comparison.

III. The Third Age is best considered together with the Fourth. The material, by which the styles of both Ages are to be judged, is almost entirely Syrian.

IV. The Fourth Age I call *Moschian-Assyrian* and the Third *Moschian-Hattic*. In the course of the excavation of the site of Carchemish, at Djerabis, Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence observed that the strata on the Citadel mound, which were filled with sherds of pottery from vases of types proper to the Bronze Age culture of the Cist-graves, from the earliest examples found at Hammam (p. 49) to the latest, of which the great Amarna cemetery at the south-west end of the Carchemish plain had supplied numerous examples, were overlaid with a thick stratum containing sherds of vases quite distinct in form from the Cist-grave pottery and decoration. Since some of these sherds were found bedded under foundations of parts of a palatial Hittite building at the southern foot of the Citadel, which is decorated with sculptures and inscriptions of Hittite type, they evidently represent a period well within the Syrian Hittite Age. Further, unless the Bronze Age ceramic types of Amarna, which continued those of Hammam and of Kara Kusak, provisionally assigned to the first part of the second millennium, were to be supposed (despite the small amount of development attested by their forms and decoration) to have filled a very lengthy period indeed, the beginnings of the new style, which succeeded them, must be pushed back to some date not much later than 1100 B.C.

The cultural change which the new ceramic style illustrates is sufficiently radical and complete (forms and decoration both being independent of those previously in vogue)

to render reasonable the presumption of some coincident political change. Since the Assyrian conquest of Carchemish, in the eighth century, seemed much too late to be responsible for the beginning of this style, and the ceramic types themselves did not correspond to any known in Assyria, Woolley and Lawrence fell back on that elder conquest of North Syria, which we know from records of Tiglath Pileser I.

Subsequently three cemeteries, whose graves contained pottery of this same style, were explored (*a*) partly by natives, partly by the British excavators at Merj Khamis two miles north of Carchemish; (*b*) by British excavators at Yunus immediately northwest of the walls of Carchemish itself; (*c*) by natives at Deve Huyuk about sixteen miles due west, near the left bank of the Sajur. These revealed the fact that a change in local custom, even more vital than the artistic change, had taken place coincidentally with the latter. This was the substitution of burial in or under jars after cremation for the practice of inhumation in cist-graves. Of the graves explored, those at Merj Khamis are the eldest if the forms and decoration of their furniture are taken as a criterion. Those at Yunus follow, illustrating the civilization of Carchemish at a period when the new ceramic style had been in vogue for some time. The Deve Huyuk cemetery (Deve Huyuk I) continues the characteristic forms and decoration of Yunus, and some of its types are continued again in another cemetery (Deve Huyuk II) explored by natives at the same place, which attests a subsequent revival of the Inhumation custom and the survival of dying traditions of Hittite art down to a period which, from the occurrence of imported Greek, Perso-Babylonian, and Egyptian objects, is seen to fall as late as the sixth-fifth centuries B.C. Provisionally, therefore, we may place the beginnings of the Deve Huyuk II phase about 600 B.C.—a date at which the Neo-Babylonian conquest by Nebuchadnezzar II, after the battle of Carchemish, supplies a reason for reversion from Cremation to Inhumation. Deve Huyuk I may be taken, hypothetically, to cover the preceding period of Assyrian domination in North Syria, back to the middle of the ninth century. Yunus, a very large cemetery of which only a small part has yet been explored, will probably be found eventually to represent the whole Cremation period from, at least, the close of the twelfth century to the close of the seventh. The graves actually opened in 1913-14 are of the middle of that period, say, the ninth century, to judge by obvious imitations of Cypriote wares found in them. Forms and decoration are only a little less developed than those of Deve Huyuk I, while slightly more advanced than in the Merj Khamis graves. Merj Khamis, however, also is a fairly large cemetery only partially explored. A fourth cemetery of the same age was tapped before the West Gate of Carchemish.

It is possible, even probable, that the Cremation culture with its new ceramic fabric did not oust effectually what had preceded it till well on in the eleventh century. A generation or two of unsettled conditions must have succeeded the driving back of the Mushkayan hordes from Mesopotamia. Therefore, although Hattic political domination was over by 1200 B.C. I allow some two centuries (Third Age) for the gradual decline of Hattic cultural domination, during which period a Hattic-Moschian art would prevail, undergoing progressive modifications of its ingredients.

The fabric, forms, and ornament of the Yunus vases are enough to assure us that the Cremation folk had come, not from Mesopotamia on the east, but from some coast-land of the Mediterranean on the west. The forms alone are convincing. Quite distinct from any previously existent in the Hittite area, they are appropriately to be described by such Greek designations as 'bell-krater', 'oenochöe', 'hydria', and so forth. Though many vases, especially the oenochoae with trefoil mouths, are closely copied from

Cypriote models, none could be mistaken for an actual product of Cyprus by any one familiar with the Early Iron Age vases of that island.

If the earlier station of the invaders and their culture was a Mediterranean coast-land within easy reach of Cyprus, but not in the island itself, it can hardly have been other than Cilicia. The only possible alternatives would be Lycia or the North Syrian littoral. The former land is very far away from the Euphrates and barred by high mountains. The latter never, to our knowledge, had a distinct culture, nor is it fitted by geographical character to breed an expansive race and develop it to political strength. Cilicia, on the other hand, whose connexion with Syria, throughout history, has been notoriously intimate, is not only fitted by its geographical character to develop civilization, but known at various periods to have been wealthy. Even from written records we can infer wealth there at least as far back as the tenth century, judging by the frequency with which the founders of the Second Assyrian Empire thought it worth their while to raid it. That it advanced to considerable power on the fall of Assyria, though much later than the date of which we are speaking, is proof of its natural capacity. And there is, possibly, an actual allusion in literature to a Cilician expansion into Syria in the error (or anachronistic fact?) of geography stated by Herodotus (v. 52), when he reckoned the Euphrates a boundary of Cilicia.

That a settlement of Carchemish and most of northern Syria took place from the Cilician side about, say, 1100 B.C. must remain, however, a hypothesis, pending either the decipherment of the Syrian Hittite inscriptions¹ belonging to our Fourth Age, or the discovery in Cilicia of prior traces of the same 'Cremation' culture as the Syrian. Up to the present there has been no scientific excavation, indeed, hardly any excavation of any sort, in Cilicia; nor, if studies of the Keftiu or the Alashiya folk as conjecturally Cilicians be excepted, has any serious archaeological research been made into its earlier culture. I shall have something more to say about possible products of Cilician glyptic later on.

By a Cilician settlement of Syria, however, I mean one effected by a people which had come into Cilicia from the north not very long before, and I assume that this people had been in contact for a generation or so with the 'Javanian' culture of the coast-land ruled by Mallus. This culture would affect rapidly the earlier Hattic culture of their adoption. Those Moschians who passed on eastward into Syria seem to have established there a state or states politically independent of Cilicia: but, no doubt, commercial and cultural relations continued for a long time between the two sections of one race, and resulted in something like federation. Thus might be explained the 'empire' credited to Cilicia before its conquest by the Assyrians in the authority used by Julius Solinus.

These Syrian Moschians must, however, have met almost at once another cultural influence, that of the Assyrian First Empire, as strong as any which they had experienced previously. In the Syrian Hittite monuments of my Third Age, therefore, an art fundamentally Hattic-Assyrian, but mixed with a new Mediterranean element, should be expected.

The Fourth Age monuments of Syria should show clearer signs of the new racial element while, at the same time, remaining essentially Hittite in their general character

¹ It is perhaps worth while to call attention to the frequent repetition in Syrian Hittite inscriptions of the group of symbols which appears to stand for the god's name at Cilician Ivriz; and to mention that Professor A. H. Sayce, from study of certain texts of Marash and Djerabis, which he claims to interpret on

his own system of decipherment, and without knowledge of our Cremation evidence, came to the conclusion that there had been a Cilician occupation of Syria at some period later than the fall of the Hattic Empire.

down to the point at which Mesopotamian and Iranian influences obtained such a hold on the land as to obliterate the distinction of Hittite culture. Like the Third Age it ought also to illustrate a growing Assyrian influence accentuated in the ninth century and paramount in the late eighth and seventh. Do the extant monuments of these two Ages support those expectations and suggested dates ?

With regard to monuments of the Third and Fourth Ages I find myself in this difficulty, that much of the best material for judging their successive styles, namely, numerous reliefs and other sculptures and the inscriptions, recently discovered at Carchemish, has either not been published, or still lacks the commentary which the discoverers, Messrs. Woolley and Lawrence, have the first right to offer. I must use my knowledge of this material, therefore, only summarily, and refer readers, who desire illustrations, to the provincial art remains at Sindjerli, figured and described by Von Luschan and others in *Ausgrabungen in Sendscherli*.

The extant Syro-Hittite sculptures illustrate three main styles :

(a) A rude vigorous style, Hattic in general character but showing distinctive local characteristics.

(b) A provincial derivative style, Hattic in essentials but increasingly influenced by Assyrian art and by a new artistic spirit.

(c) A style, still Hattic in general character, conspicuously reinvigorated by a greater infusion of the new spirit, but modified also by fresh Assyrian influence.

Between *b* and *c* intervenes a Transitional Style, whose examples might be reckoned in part to *b* as a late manner, in part to *c* as an early manner. After *c* there is a decadent Semitized style.

(a) This style is largely conjectural, since it is suggested rather than represented by a very few scattered reliefs at Carchemish, e.g. by lion-monsters executed in flat planes in a 'silhouette' manner even more pronounced than that of the Eyuk Aladja sculptures. The lion-paws are represented by a peculiar hook-like form. These reliefs occur here and there at Carchemish intercalated into series of dado-slabs which are mainly in a different style. If they are indeed earlier than their fellows they must have been transported from some building or buildings, probably on the Citadel, whose other remains have not yet been located. The existing evidence is not such as to make me quite confident of the early date of these reliefs : but in any case, they differ from all others on the site, and can hardly belong to a later period than the rest. Provisionally, I suggest for their date the period of Hattic Power when Syria, under Cappadocian domination, remained nevertheless more Syro-Mesopotamian than Hattic in culture, i.e. the fourteenth and the first half of the thirteenth centuries.

(b) This is a heavy sophisticated style, apparently inspired by the same influences as that of Yasili Kaia, but more contaminated by Assyrian tradition. Its vogue must have lasted a fairly long time. It shows earlier and later manners as well as a latest transitional manner. The earlier manner is represented at Sindjerli by the reliefs of the South City-gate and by two lions in the Inner Citadel : and at Carchemish, by many slabs, e.g. by some which flank the 'Processional Entry' to the 'Lower Palace', and by some members, but not all, of the series which lines the south-east of the central court (published in *Carch. I*, pl. B. 10-16 : examples of earlier slabs seem to me 10 *a, b*, 12 and 13 *a, b*).

The later manner of style *b* is exemplified, at Sindjerli, by the reliefs of the outer Citadel Gate ; and at Carchemish, by the other members of the published series referred

to above; also by the Staircase reliefs, by the long Procession of the Goddess west of the 'King's Gate', and by several other slabs, e.g. some in the Water-Gate, and a few free sculptures, e.g. certain bases and pedestals supported by bulls or lions. These all represent the adult stage of 'Hittite' art in Syria.

A style transitional between *b* and *c* is seen, at Carchemish, in the dado of the long west wall of the central court, and the slabs to the left of the King's Gate Tower, which show soldiers of Armenoid facial type in Hittite dress, wearing the Hittite pigtail, but armed with crested helmets and round shields (*Carch. I*, pl. B. 2, 3).

If the human figure be taken as a test, it will be seen to be represented on the monuments of this style with essentially Hattic features of hair-fashion and dress, but not physiognomy. In the earliest examples of the style reminiscence of the Yasili Kaia art is very obvious, but the execution is coarser and heavier and, to all appearance, derivative. It is clearly, to my mind, a survival from the Hattic Kingdom struggling, in a period of provincial unrest, with some new influence.

(*c*) This fine style is exemplified at Carchemish by, *inter alia*, the reliefs on the King's Gate Tower (*Carch. I*, pl. B. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8), and at Sindjerli by much sculpture from the Palace buildings within the Citadel (*Sendscherli*, p. 354, figs. 259 *a, b*, and pl. 59, 61, 62 : also pl. 55, 56, 57). At Sakjegeuzi, it has produced the sculptures of the Portico unearthed in the Jobba mound.

Besides a certain new refinement and grace, the following features are obvious. (1) A round type of human head ; (2) facial profiles which have lost the heavy jowl and long curved nose of Hattic physiognomy ; (3) hair dressed in curls, either flowing or cropped, instead of the pigtail, or even the 'chignon', seen in the later manner of style *b* ; (4) long belted robes in place of short tunics or Babylonian mantles ; (5) laced shoes with square toes instead of boots with pointed up-curving toes.

There is no doubt to what alien art to look first for light. It is the new Assyrian style, which, inaugurated under Ashur-nasir-pal (or Tukulti Ninib II ?), attained its finest extant expression in the bronze reliefs of Shalmaneser II on the Gates of Balawat. The resemblance between figures of officers in those reliefs, and the leading figures of the procession on the north face of the King's Gate Tower at Carchemish (*Carch. I*, pl. B. 5), is very close—much closer, indeed, than is offered by the later style of eighth- and seventh-century Ninevite work. I feel no hesitation in ascribing, on the strength of this comparison alone, the King's Gate Tower reliefs of Carchemish to a date not later than the middle of the ninth century B.C.

A general estimate of the chronology of *c* style could also be arrived at by reckoning backwards from its latest examples at Sindjerli which are inscribed with Aramaic texts and thus dated to the period of a known dynasty of the eighth and seventh centuries. From the decadence, which the earliest of these sculptures illustrate, back to the manner of the King's Gate reliefs, at least a century is not too much to allow. Nor, again, is at least half another century before the date of the latter sculptures too long for the development of their style out of the Hattic manner of class *b*. This half-century (or more) will, then, be represented by the style transitional between *b* and *c* which has been mentioned above.

A coincidence between the full style *c* and the ceramic style of the Yunus Cremation graves is suggested by the occurrence in the Yunus cemetery of a dolerite *stela*, which shows a man clothed and shod like certain of the King's Gate figures. Accompanying it on the *stela* is an incised Hittite text. Since it was evidently the custom, as Woolley has recorded (*l. c.*, p. 97), to set up *stelae* over the Cremation graves at Yunus, it need

not be doubted that this heavy monument was found very near the spot where it was originally erected.

It will be objected, perhaps, that, since most of the characteristic features of this style are to be found in Assyrian Second Empire art, it is superfluous to look elsewhere than to Assyria for their source. To this conclusion I venture to demur. The new quality in Ashur-nasir-pal's monuments is no less a surprise in Assyrian art than the quality of *c* style in Syro-Hittite art. The monuments of the First Empire prepare us just as much or as little for this quality in Assyria, as do those of style *b* in Syria. How, then, did this new style arise in the former country? If so great a change, effected so quickly, can hardly have been due merely to internal artistic development, we must look for an outside influence. Whence could such an influence come? Not from Babylonia and not from Egypt. The distinctive qualities of grace and refinement, which characterize Shalmaneser's monuments, are not the grace and refinement of the arts proper to either of those lands.

It is not things Egyptian or Babylonian that the quality of Assyrian art from Ashur-nasir-pal to the Sargonids recalls, but early Ionian things. To the West—to the Mediterranean culture—the new qualities of the style point. Nor is there anything impossible in the supposition that Assyria received, in Ashur-nasir-pal's and Shalmaneser's reigns, artistic impulses from a Mediterranean land through a Syro-Cilician medium. Shalmaneser marched his armies into Cilicia on at least eight occasions, and reduced the country to a client state. There are reasons, which will be stated hereafter (apart from some, already given, which indicate Cilicia as the source of the Cremation ceramic style), for believing the rich Cilician plain to have been the home of an artistic civilization, influenced by the sub-Aegean art of the Levant. A connexion between Sargonid art and the Early Ionian has long been accepted as an article of faith on the strength of analogies observed between the well-known ivories found by Layard at Nimrud, and those of the late eighth and early seventh centuries found at Ephesus and at Camirus respectively (see, e.g. *Brit. Mus. Excav. at Ephesus, The Archaic Artemisia*, pp. 184, 185); but it has usually been assumed that the influence passed from East to West. Considering the artistic quality of the Ephesian ivories, one is justified in presuming that fine work of a considerably earlier Ionian period existed. If so, there need be no chronological impediment to supposing the influence, which caused the Nimrud ivories to come into being, to have passed at least a century earlier from West to East.

Since North Syria was in more direct and constant contact with Cilicia than was Assyria, and (on the hypothesis propounded above in regard to the Cremation graves) it had already been penetrated by a Cilician racial element before Ashur-nasir-pal's time, the earliest monuments in this full 'Western' style, such as the soldier-reliefs of the King's Gate, and even all the Tower sculptures at Carchemish, and perhaps also the Portico sculptures of Sakjegeuzi, may well be earlier than any monuments of the New Assyrian Style; and this latter style may have been learned from North Syrian art rather than from Cilicia itself. If so, the earliest Carchemish sculptures in this style may be at least as early as 900 B.C. and might be somewhat earlier still.

Whatever the new racial element was which modified Syrian culture about 1100 B.C., it did not eliminate either the fundamentally Hattic character of the local art, or the local use of Hittite script. The finest extant text in that script is carved on an integral part of the dado of the King's Gate Tower, and the figure which 'speaks' at the opening of the text is typical of the 'Western' style (*Carch. I.* pl. B. 6 and A. 6).

Enough has been said to show that the monuments of Syro-Hittite art support the distinction of Ages with which this discussion began. Its style *a*, if rightly dated above, will be that of Syria in some part of the Second Age, under the Hattic domination. Style *b* is of the Third Age, the Hattic-Moschian, and its late transitional manner illustrates the passage into the Fourth Age, filled by style *c*, which lasted on through the seventh century.

A word remains to be said on the Hittite monuments of the Cilician neighbourhood. None has been discovered actually in Cilicia, as it was defined in later times; but immediately north of Taurus, on or near roads leading to the Cilician passes, there occur several monuments of Hittite art. Whether these are to be referred to Tyana or to Tarsus, they may equally be taken as representing a prevailing culture of South-eastern Asia Minor, inclusive of Cilicia. All the figures represented show strong Hattic tradition (notably on the best preserved of the Ivriz reliefs and the Bor *stela*), but not in their hair-fashion, which is very like the chignon of the Syrian style *b* (latest manner) or style *c* (earliest manner), and not always in their fashion of dress; for this, on the smaller figure at Ivriz, and the figure from Bor, approaches the fashions of styles *b* and *c* more nearly than the true Hattic. The facial type is Armenoid as in the Syrian styles *b* and *c*. On the whole I feel fairly confident that the Ivriz and Bor monuments, at any rate, fall in our Third Age.

CHAPTER I

HITTITE GLYPTIC

AN immense number of small engraved objects in stone, metal, and compost, which have served as seals, amulets, ring-stones, pendants for personal wear, or (more doubtfully) weights, have been coming into European and American collections from West Asiatic sources for some generations past. Those belonging to the Egyptian and Mesopotamian glyptic families can be distinguished with fair certainty and classified apart: those also which betray the influence of Persian art, or of any other art, such as the Greek or the Roman, which penetrated West Asia subsequently, can be assigned without much doubt to periods later than the middle of the sixth century B.C. The exclusion of all these objects eliminates two glyptic species, namely, hard-stone weights and what are usually called engraved 'gems'; but there remains a considerable body of other glyptic objects, not to be ascribed to either of those known families, or to these late dates. Traced back to markets in Syria and in Asia Minor, and, in rare instances, to inland localities in these countries, many of these objects offer evidence of derivation from the Hittite Area: the engraved subjects of others proclaim them the work of the same art which produced the Hittite sculptures and inscriptions: while of others again it can only be said, in virtue of their peculiarities of form or subject, or both, that they are members of no known glyptic family, if it be not the Hittite. By the cumulative evidence of all these, and the use of them as criteria for comparison, it has long been established beyond question that Hittite culture possessed a glyptic art; and some broad lines of its distinction from the glyptic arts of other regions have come to be recognized. But these lines are still ill-defined, and knowledge of them is confined to very few archaeologists. To give an instance. The British Museum received long ago, by the gift of John Ruskin, a group of objects said to have been found at Ialysus in Rhodes by the brothers Biliotti. Among these was a flattened spheroidal object in red serpentine, engraved on both faces and pierced for suspension. It was placed with other glyptic objects of the Ialysus group in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities (it is now in the Gold Room), and published by Furtwängler and Löschke in *Myken. Vasen* (Text, pl. E, nos. 8, 8a, p. 75) and again in 1900 by Furtwängler in *Ant. Gemmen* (i, pl. iv, no. 21, and vol. ii, p. 19). It is noted in the *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Engraved Gems* (no. 108) as having the 'Egyptian boat of the Sun' and other signs on it. Furtwängler saw, on one face, a man with 'nach aussen gebogenen Knieen und gehobenem Arme'; and on the other, unintelligible signs. He treated it throughout as an eccentric product of early Rhodian glyptic; and no one has ever said anything more enlightening about it. Yet it is an ordinary Hittite *bulla* engraved with neither boats nor men, but with ordinary Hittite script-characters on both its faces (see fig. 115, p. 91, *infra*). In the hope of rendering such a mistake as this last improbable in future, and of helping further to define the limits, and indicate the characteristics, of the Hittite glyptic family, I offer tentatively the results of my own study of it.

The distinction of Hittite glyptic objects both generically and individually rests primarily on the *Engraved Subjects*, i.e. on their conception, their technique, their

artistic style, and their signification in general and in detail. Such objects, however, offer secondary criteria also in their *Local Origin*, their *Material*, and their *Morphology*. Since these secondary criteria have to be borne in mind from the first by a would-be classifier, they had better be explained at once.

(i) *Local Origin*. The value of this criterion is discounted for all glyptic families by the portable and durable character of their constituents. This conduces to (a) wide distribution in antiquity over alien districts or countries; and (b) appearance in modern markets far from the places of discovery, after transit through many hands.

Nevertheless, even vague data of provenance may acquire considerable cumulative value if they point in one geographical direction. A very large number of those West Asian glyptic objects, which unmistakably are not Egyptian, not Babylonian, not Assyrian, not Aegean, not Greek, and not Phoenician, have been traced to North and Mid Syria and Eastern Asia Minor; and none of their kind, to my knowledge, has been traced with certainty to any other area of glyptic production. The chief centres at which these objects have been acquired are Aleppo with its ports, Beirut and other coast towns to the north; Aintab, Biridjik, and Marash; Tarsus, Mersina, and Adana; Kaisariyeh, Kara Eyuk, Boghazkeui, and Eyuk Aladja; Konia, and points lying on the routes thence to the western commercial outlets of Asia Minor, Smyrna, and Constantinople, together with these ports themselves.

Further we know many specimens to have been discovered on sites, whose characteristic remains of other kinds are Hittite. The chief of these are:

(1) Boghazkeui and Eyuk Aladja, at both of which places Chantre procured seals and clay impressions, published in his *Mission en Cappadoce*. At Boghazkeui have also been found by Winckler impressions of seals stamped on either clay tablets or cones and nodules.

(2) Djerabis and neighbourhood. During the recent British excavations on the site of Carchemish numerous glyptic objects have come to light, especially in a cemetery outside the city limits on the west, near the hamlet of Yunus (see p. 9). Another Carchemishian cemetery some distance to the north-west, near Merj Khamis, has produced seals of slightly earlier date. Also, natives, who have been excavating cemeteries within a radius of twenty-five miles from Djerabis, have found many seals and amulets, whose original association with pottery and other objects of certain types has been sufficiently well ascertained. The chief groups in this category are cylinders from Hammam and Kara Kuzak on the Euphrates, and from two cemeteries at Deve Huyuk in the Sajur valley. Many of these are published hereinafter.

(3) Sakjegeuzi in Central North Syria, where, in the course of Garstang's excavations in 1908-11, several seals were found.

(4) Tell Basher in the Sajur valley. A considerable number of seals and amulets in the Ashmolean Collection and in the British Museum come from this site, where natives had opened graves before 1894, and have continued to do so till lately. These seals, however, have not quite the same archaeological value as those from the preceding sites, since Tell Basher, though most probably Hittite, has not yet been proved so by either excavation or the discovery of other Hittite monuments *in situ*.

(ii) *Material*. Anticipating a justification to be attempted later, I put forward the following generalizations about material.

(1) No stone harder than marble, serpentine, or schist was used by Hittite glyptists before the adult period of their art. Steatite is the material of 90 per cent. of their early products. Haematite was not used by them as a medium till the Third Age. Shell-core is not the material of any seal which is beyond question Hittite.

(2) Highly crystalline stones, such as sardonyx, agate, onyx, carnelian, amethyst, chalcedony and their like, were never engraved in the Hittite area until Hittite civilization was losing its individuality in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian Periods.

(3) Lapis lazuli and true jasper were not used in Hittite glyptic before the Neo-Babylonian Period.

(4) A soft serpentine, which, if polished, varies in tint from a dull crimson to ruddy orange, was used very commonly by Hittite glyptists, and very rarely by others. There is strong presumption that any glyptic object of this material is Hittite.

(iii) *Morphology*, i.e. *Form and Size*. A classification of Hittite glyptic objects by Form, though of limited archaeological validity, is a valuable preliminary to ultimate classification by subject.



FIG. 5.



FIG. 6 (Cat. 274).

Such a classification ('freak'-forms, such as those in figs. 5 and 6, being omitted) may be scheduled thus :

I. *ROLLER-SEALS* (CYLINDERS).

II. *STAMP-SEALS*.

A. *HANDLELESS*.

1. 'Gables', i.e. carinated quadrilateral seals.
2. Hemispheroids.
 - (a) Carinated.
 - (b) Domed.
3. Conoids.
4. Scaraboids.
 - (a) Rudimentary.
 - (b) Egyptizing.
 - (c) Domed.

B. *HANDLED* (classified by form of handle).

1. Stalks.
2. Loops.
3. Studs.
4. Knobs.
5. Tripods.
6. Hammers.

C. *SIGNET-RINGS*.

III. *AMULETS AND PENDANTS*.

1. Bullae.
2. Semi-bullae.
3. Tabloids.

I. ROLLER-SEALS (CYLINDERS)

It is useless to propose subdivision of this large genus by the criterion of form. So far as I know, Hittite cylinders, like Mesopotamian and Egyptian, show as much variation of form as so simple a seal-shape can admit. They vary greatly in length¹ and in its proportion to diameter. Those with squat barrels, whose diameter exceeds or equals their length, or, at least, is not less than three-quarters of it, are found in the earliest classes, but are very rare later. Concave-sided barrels are rarer still. A ratio of length to diameter as 2 : 1 becomes the rule in the age of full Hittite development. A ratio of 3 : 1, or even greater disproportion, appears (before the Fourth Age) only in some cylinders imitated from Kassite models, and not certainly of Hittite fabric. In the Fourth Age it becomes comparatively common.

There are, however, two rare morphological varieties, one of which, so far as I know, occurs in the Hittite family only, while the other is almost unknown in any other.

(1) Cylinders not pierced throughout the barrel. Their bore, after penetrating a short distance, is bent back hairpin-wise and emerges again near the point of entry (fig. 7). These *suspensory* cylinders, which are almost invariably of squat form, may be called *Loop-bored*. The Ashmolean collection possesses six examples, of which four hail from one site, Tell Basher. Besides these, I know only about half a dozen in other collections.

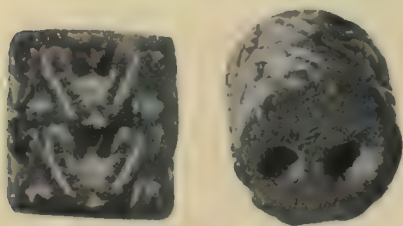


FIG. 7.

(2) A cylinder prolonged at one end by a tongue which is pierced for suspension purposes. This variety is an all-stone edition of such cylinders, strung on loop-headed bronze wires, as have been found not infrequently, e.g. in

Syrian graves of the Cremation Age. The known cylinders of this variety (which may be named *Tanged*) are so few that they might be regarded as 'freak'-forms rather than representatives of a stage in morphological development, if it were not that they appear only in the Third Age and precede all known Hittite examples strung on wires. They may, therefore, really mark the beginning of a fashion, continued afterwards by the substitution of a metallic fitting for the solid stone loop.

II. STAMP-SEALS

These call for description and illustration, since most of the names here used have been invented by myself for lack of other accepted terminology.

A. HANDLELESS.

1. *Gables*. The face is flat and oblong, with angles more or less rounded off, and edges generally bevelled. The back, unengraved and unornamented, slopes up to a gable ridge (fig. 8 A, B). The triangular side faces are (usually) perpendicular, or (less usually) splayed. In the latter case the seal has the form of a truncated pyramid of which two sides are longer than the others. The bore is driven under the gable-ridge, parallel both to its line and to the direction of the subject engraved on the face.

¹ See Hayes Ward, *Amer. Journ. Arch.* 1899, p. 20, for a different opinion, which, however, he has not repeated in his *Seal-Cylinders of West Asia*. In any

case it is not tenable. His proposed limitation of cylinders to 20 millimetres in length is exceeded by a very great number of Hittite examples.

2. *Hemispheroids*. (a) *Carinated*. These differ from 'Gables' in having an arched back and a rounded face, though this is sometimes more oval than circular. The back is arched very gently to a faint ridge, under which the bore is driven as in no. 1 (fig. 9).

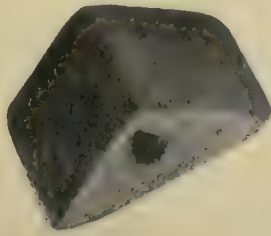


FIG. 8 A.



FIG. 8 B.

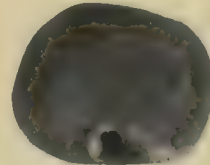


FIG. 9.

The face, in all well-certified Hittite specimens known to me, is flat, with bevelled edge. A similar shape exists also in Aegean glyptic, but usually has the face slightly convex, and is, in any case, not easily distinguished from the Hittite variety except, possibly, by subject. I show the design upon a specimen of a convex-faced carinated circular seal, probably Aegean, not Hittite (fig. 10), in order to illustrate this difficulty of distinction: for its design might easily be Hittite. Some Hittite specimens have the gable-ridge so faintly marked that they are hardly differentiated morphologically from the shallower types of domed Hemispheroids of the following species.



FIG. 10.



FIG. 11.



FIG. 12.

(b) *Domed*. Under this head are included not only hemispheres (which are rarely found) but all lesser sections of a sphere (fig. 11). The engraved face is flat; the unengraved back is evenly domed; and the bore runs parallel to the direction of the subject.

3. *Conoids*. These are rarely true cones, being more usually truncated or of oval horizontal section. The faces are often convex, and, at a late period, the sides may be faceted. The bore is driven horizontally through the apex, parallel to the direction of the subject. There are some 'freak'-forms of conoids, e.g. those whose backs are carved with spiral mouldings, and sometimes crowned with a snake-head (e.g. fig. 12).



A



B



C

FIG. 13.

4. *Scaraboids*. (a) *Rudimentary*. This species has an elongated oval face, and shows, by incised markings on the domed back, traces of derivation from the naturalistic scarab (fig. 13). The markings in question comprise usually a dorsal double or triple

spine from which radiate, towards the 'head' and the 'tail', single (or pairs of) lines suggestive of the original beetle-legs and wing-cases. In a few specimens these rays have been reduced to fortuitous oblique or transverse lines; and even the dorsal spine is sometimes wanting. Rarely a transverse line indicates the division of the head from the thorax. Almost always a groove is sunk round the circumference just above the seal-face, as in the normal Egyptian scarab. This species, though difficult to describe without ambiguity, is quite unmistakable and cannot be confounded with any other known types of scarab or scaraboid. It seems, in the Hittite family, to precede the other types.

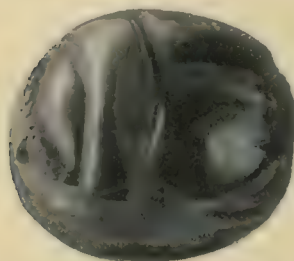


FIG. 14.

(b) *Egyptizing*. These vary from naturalistic representations (fig. 14) to mere conventions, which retain little but the block form and proportions of the insect.

(c) *Domed*. These, perhaps, have little to do with the scarab, but are segments of cylinders or cones (often of oval horizontal section) with domed backs.

Some 'freak'-forms occur, e.g. those with back carved as a human face (see Cat. 292). The bore of all scaraboids is driven through the longest diameter in the direction of the engraved subject.

B. HANDLED.

1. *Stalks* (fig. 15). These seals have for handle a fairly long protuberance, unmoulded and undecorated, through which is driven horizontally the bore or

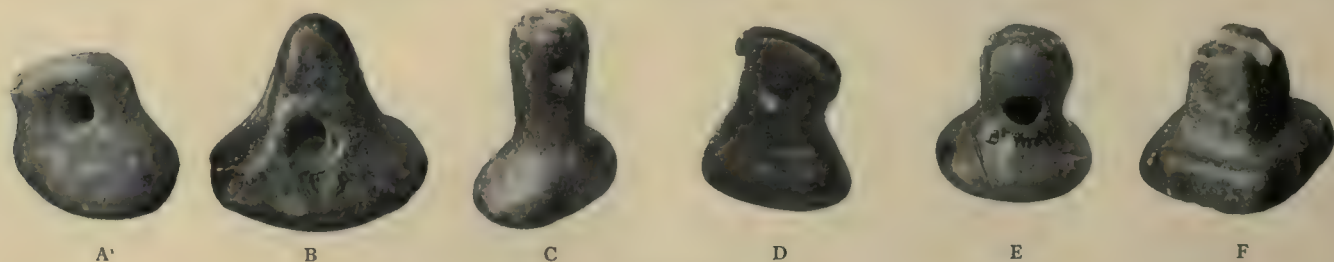


FIG. 15.

suspension hole. The base may be quadrilateral, circular, or oval, and has a flat face. 'Stalks' vary so much in shape, and the subjects of the known specimens vary also so much in style, that one is compelled to regard them as individuals rather than representatives of a type. They were probably produced at intervals by craftsmen who did not feel competent to make the more elaborate forms of handle in vogue, or had received a cheap order.



FIG. 16

2. *Loops* (fig. 16). The handle, sometimes cut square, is a protuberance on the gabled or domed back only just large enough to take a bore. Rarely it bears incised decoration. The base may be quadrilateral, circular, oval, or (rarely) semicircular or lunate, the last two forms being peculiar to this species. The face is always flat.

3. *Studs* (fig. 17). The very short handle is 'necked', i.e. undercut at its point of junction with the base of the seal, and carved into a terminal knob which is often engraved with a gridiron or other linear pattern. The base has a flat face and may be quadrilateral, circular, oval, trifoliate, or trilateral. Rarely, it has a scalloped edge. The bore is driven horizontally through the neck.

4. *Knobs* (fig. 18). The handle is long and, usually, horizontally grooved where it springs from the base and again where it expands into a spherical knob, which is sometimes faceted and always pierced with a suspension hole. The stem of the handle



FIG. 17.



FIG. 18.

FIG. 19.

is also often faceted. The base of all specimens known to me is circular (sometimes with scalloped edge) and flat faced. In certain fine specimens it is cylindrical and of some solidity. This is an elaborate species usually made of haematite, but sometimes of metal.

5. *Tripods* (fig. 19). A metal form only. The handle is composed of three claw-feet, more or less conventionalized: these are soldered to the back of the base-plate, and converge above either upon a smaller plate with suspension ring soldered to it, or upon a ring only. The face of the base is sometimes convex, and in one of our specimens (fig. 19, c) so much so that the base is ovoid, and can hardly have been used for sealing.

6. *Hammers*. A sumptuous type usually made in haematite or marble. The handle, often moulded and faceted as in specimens of B. 4, is terminated above by

a vertically grooved transverse bar of circular section. In the finest specimens this tapers from the centre, but expands again at each end, like a round-ended hammer-

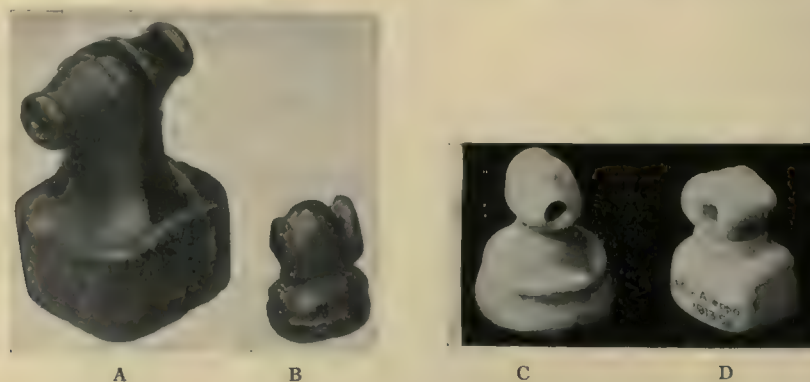


FIG. 20.

head. Hence the name which I suggest for the type. The base, always flat faced, is sometimes of cubical shape and engraved not only on the bottom face but on side faces. Sometimes it is cylindrical, as in certain specimens of B. 4: sometimes again it is discoid. In the last two varieties it is engraved on the under face only. The hammer-head handle undergoes various degenerations (fig. 20, B) and is the parent of the handle in the form of a human fist (fig. 20, D), which occurs late in Hittite glyptic. It is worth notice that a form somewhat like it occurred in bronze and gold among the beads found in the early stratum of the Artemisium site at Ephesus (*Excav. at Ephesus*, pp. 114-51), and that bronze objects of this form occurred not only there but at Enkomi in Cyprus (*Brit. Mus. Excav. in Cyprus*, p. 15, fig. 25, no. 1472).

C. SIGNET RINGS.

Two forms are known, (a) Hoop with circular discoid bezel (fig. 21), (b) Hoop swelling on one side (fig. 22).



FIG. 21.



FIG. 22.

III. AMULETS AND PENDANTS



FIG. 23.

1. *Bullae* are flattened spheroidal objects (fig. 23), engraved on the two cheeks (a singular 'loop-bored' specimen, Cat. 327, is engraved on one cheek only), and, usually, have horizontal grooving round their circumference. The bore is driven horizontally into this belt on the line of greatest diameter and parallel to the direction of the subject. A few specimens have so little convexity of face that they are discoid rather than spheroid; these usually have no grooved circumferential belt.

2. *Semi-bullae*. Hemispheroidal objects, usually full halves of a sphere (fig. 24). They are engraved both on the flat basal face and on the dome. Round the lower part of the latter runs a circumferential grooved belt similar to that observed in *Bullae*. The bore is driven horizontally into this belt on the line of greatest diameter, and parallel to the direction of the subject. Very few specimens are known (two among these are in bronze and one in silver); and possibly the type is only a sumptuous variety of the Hemispheroids classed under II. A. 2. If so, *Semi-bullae* were, doubtless, seals. But their double engraving, their moulded belts, and certain common details of their subject differentiate all the known specimens from the other Hemispheroids and suggest some particular relation to *Bullae*.



FIG. 24.

3. *Tabloids* are quadrilateral, circular, oval, lozenge-shaped, or lunate plaques of stone, engraved on both faces. They have one or more bores. Those with more than one bore (fig. 25) were, probably, pendants used as necklace-dividers.



FIG. 25.

The value of the criterion of Form for the external distinction of the Hittite glyptic family may be summarized thus. Besides the two small groups of cylinders described on p. 18, the following eight forms of Stamp-seals and Amulets are, so far as known at present, peculiar to Hittite glyptic: *Gables*; *Scaraboids* of sub-species *a*; *Studs*; *Knobs*; *Tripods*; *Hammers*; *Bullae*, and *Semi-bullae*. Further, *Carinated hemispheroids* are shared only with Aegean glyptic, which usually differentiated their form slightly from the Hittite. It need hardly be pointed out that, from so many peculiar forms, one obtains a wide range of subjects certified as Hittite to compare with those engraved on less distinctive forms.

In anticipation of *Subject*, it may be well to dispose here of the mechanical aspect of the criterion, namely *Technique*, which cannot be considered altogether apart from Material. As a criterion for distinguishing the Hittite glyptic family as a whole, *Technique* has little or no value, since we have no reason to credit Hittite glyptists with using any cutting tool which has not left traces in the work of other glyptists; nor, on the other hand, have the former neglected any type of tool used to produce the Babylonian, Assyrian, Egyptian, or Aegean glyptic work of earlier or contemporary ages. There is clear evidence of Hittite use of (1) the point, whether tipped with corundum or not; (2) the *bouterolle* or bow-drill with its tubular variety; and (3) the gouge or hollow chisel. The only doubt concerns (4) the wheel-saw. It is always hard to be sure, in antique work, whether this or the point has been employed, and I can only say, that, despite what Babelon assumes (*La Gravure en Pierres Fines*, p. 25, fig. 2) about a cylinder of the same type as our no. 36, *infra*, I am not convinced that the saw rather than the point was employed to trace outlines either in the period of that cylinder, or in any later period of Hittite glyptic art. It is the opinion of some lapidary experts, e.g. G. F. Kunz (*Encycl. Brit.*, s.v. Gems), that the wheel-saw was not used before the sixth century B.C. If this be true, its non-employment in Hittite work will not serve to distinguish the Hittite glyptic family from any of its contemporaries.

As a criterion for internal classification, *Technique* is only of limited service. If the wheel-saw be excluded from consideration, all the main types of glyptic tools were in use by Hittite engravers throughout the period, namely the Point, the Drill, and the Chisel: and only the dates at which each *began* to be employed can be made a basis of classification.

(a) In the earliest period (cylinders of Class I, *infra*) all the types of tool were used impartially, even the tubular drill. The materials engraved were all soft, and bronze points or edges, aided by oil and sand, could easily have engraved the cylinders known to us. Indeed, borers made of bone or hard wood (e.g. bamboo) could have served the glyptists' needs. In the manipulation of their tools the craftsmen show as much dexterity as those of early Babylonia.

(b) There follows (Class II) a marked decline in graving Technique. For the most part the glyptists worked on very soft material with point and chisel only. The drill was not unknown, and even the tubular form of it was used occasionally; but more engraving was effected without drills, by mere scraping and scratching, than with them. Even drill-marks are often the result of mere rotation of a point by hand, and the 'cuneiform' intaglio, characteristic of the Class, is just chip-carving. Certain seals (e.g. our cylinders nos. 20, 21) seem to be almost entirely chisel-work. I suspect that bone or hard wood, rather than metal, was employed to engrave most of the early Stamp-seals, and the cylinders of the Loop-bore group (see *infra*, p. 54).

(c) The quality of the Technique, which had been improving during the latter part of the period of Class II, reached a high point again in Class III. Haematite came into fashion as a material, and the truth and ease of curvilinear incisions in this refractory material, demonstrate high skill in the use of sections of the edge of a tubular drill. The point is also manipulated with much sureness and delicacy; but there is no better reason than before to suppose it tipped with corundum-dust (emery), although a supply of this could have been obtained easily enough from Western Anatolia. Haematite yields to soft metal aided by oil and sand, and even pyrolusite, of which material we have one cylinder, would not be refractory to the patient use of these agents. Possibly, powdered sepia-bone was employed sometimes, as in Babylonia.

Had corundum been known to Hittite glyptists, it is probable that they would have engraved crystalline stones earlier than, apparently, they did (see p. 17). At the same time the facts may be accounted for by their lack of such stones, seeing that these were used but rarely even in Babylonia before the latest Assyrian period. It must be admitted that Hittite neglect of the fine but comparatively tractable material, lapis lazuli, which was imported from Persia and in vogue in Mesopotamian glyptic from an early period, goes to prove the absence in Syria of a demand for fine stones, rather than the glyptists' inability to cut them.

(d) The final period of Hittite glyptic (Class IV) illustrates a decline in graving, which is rather stylistic than technical. The same tools were still manipulated with certainty, but the work is summary and carelessly finished. The drill was called into use far more than of old to produce rapid obvious effects, and the glyptists were not concerned to efface its traces. All seals, however, continued to be engraved by hand; the indistinct outlines which give to compost cylinders the look of objects turned out of moulds are due to the perishing of the material and to incrustation with glaze after engraving.

CHAPTER II

CATALOGUE OF THE ASHMOLEAN COLLECTION

CLASS I: GROUP 1

1. Cylinder: bone: $\cdot 039 \times \cdot 026$.

Man, holding in one hand a thong ? and in the other the handle of a plough ?, drives a horse ?. Above, a cross hatching. Preceding these, a stag led by another man. Before him, a six-rayed star.

Hammam.

2. Cylinder: pale green calcite: $\cdot 029 \times \cdot 019$.

Two pairs of beasts crossed (the right-hand pair monstrous) and a human figure erect to right between them. Before him an upright sword or dagger, and to left a column of cuneiform signs of early type.

Hammam.

3. Cylinder: pink sandstone: $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 020$.

Geometric pattern of lozenges alternately triply barred and latticed; fill-up pyramidal marks between.

Kara Kusak, Mesopotamia.

4. Cylinder: shell: $\cdot 032 \times \cdot 016$.

Two antelopes or ibexes moving to left followed by a lion. In the field above, two eagles displayed and an uncertain object (= scorpion ?).

Kara Kusak, Mesopotamia.

5. Cylinder: pale green calcite: $\cdot 040 \times \cdot 023$.

Two registers. (a) Four figures: two, female, sit left and right of an altar-table on which are two cups. The figure on the left holds something (a harp ?) in her hands. A third female sits with her back to the first group and receives a standing male adorant. (b) Standing man holds two antelopes by the hind legs. An erect lion attacks one antelope and a lioness ? the other. Above the lioness's hind-quarters something indeterminate, perhaps a scorpion.

Memphis ?

6. Cylinder: shell: $\cdot 029 \times \cdot 009$.

Two registers. (a) Draped female seated on a stool holds the hind leg of an ibex, set sideways in front of her. (b) Two female figures seated on stools opposed. Each holds

an ear of corn ? (or cup ?) in one hand and with the other grasps the hand of the opposite figure.

Bought at Baghdad. (Chester Collection.)

7. Cylinder: shell: $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 009$.

Two seated female figures opposed, each raising one hand before a furnished table-altar: palm-spray and *ashera* behind. Below, a belt of eye-lozenges.

Bought at Aleppo.

GROUP 2

8. Cylinder: steatite: $\cdot 021 \times \begin{cases} \cdot 010 \\ \cdot 013 \end{cases}$ (tapering to bottom).

Nude man holding a spear upright opposes a demon with bull's feet who wears a high (feathered ?) cap. Behind the latter a bull-footed demon holding up an antelope by the hind legs and flanked by a rearing antelope. Jagged ground line.

Bought at Aleppo.

9. Cylinder: steatite: $\cdot 029 \times \cdot 010$.

Two registers divided and bordered by enclosed herring-bone belts, much defaced. (a) Crossed rampant lions flanked by ibexes erect on hind legs; their horns are held by two standing men. On the right a third man standing. (b) Two crossed lions rampant and a bull with head turned back, whose horn is grasped by a pig-tailed man; behind him a second man. On the left a man attacks the lions.

Bought at Biridjik.

10. Cylinder: bronze: $\cdot 026 \times \cdot 013$.

Two registers disposed inversely. (a) Three lions rampant to right. A crescent in the upper field. (b) Two men in combat and a third moving towards them from the left: on the right a man in combat with a lion-sphinx.

Bought at Aleppo.

GROUP 3

11. Cylinder : white marble or shell ? : $\cdot 024 \times \cdot 016$.

Condition too bad for certainty about details of the subject, which includes crossed animals and erect human figures.

Bought at Aleppo.

12. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 026 \times \cdot 013$.

Two long-necked birds opposed in combat. Above is a stag or antelope inverted, with palm-spray below its belly, and one fore-foot resting on an uncertain object (perhaps an altar of the type seen on no. 43 *infra*). On

the left, a quatrefoil of double outline. Reversible type.

Hammam.

13. Cylinder : pink marble : $\cdot 029 \times \cdot 015$.

Nude figure in attitude of dancing before a large coil of double outline with two handle-like projections. Behind the dancer a scorpion, head downward, and a star.

Bought at Aleppo.

14. Cylinder : white calcite : $\cdot 035 \times \cdot 012$.

Two registers divided by a double linear border. (a) Two antelopes moving to right in file. (b) Two ditto or ibexes moving similarly.

Bought at Aleppo.

CLASS II A: GROUP 1

15. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 013$.

Man holding a weapon pursues a lion and an ibex or antelope (inverted).

Bought at Aleppo.

16. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 020 \times \cdot 009$.

Man pursuing a lion and a stag. Fill-up strokes in the field.

Aniseh.

17. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 016 \times \cdot 009$.

Man in belted tunic, holding spear or goad in his right hand, follows an ox and a stag. In his left hand an uncertain object.

Bought at Smyrna. (Chester Collection.)

18. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 014 \times \cdot 008$.

Man in belted tunic with uplifted hands ? drives a bull and an antelope ; before the latter, an upright palm-spray. Above the bull, a goad (or ploughshare ?, point downwards, or a sword ?, point upwards).

Bought at Aleppo.

19. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 018 \times \cdot 008$.

Man between a stag ? and a lion. Chevron in the field.

Kirk Maghara.

GROUP 2

20. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 011$.

Man driving a plough drawn by two oxen (one inverted). Before the oxen four straight lines (furrows ?) ; and above, a quatrefoil.

Bought at Aleppo.

21. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 025 \times \cdot 010$.

God seated right before a table-altar on which are two offerings ; he holds in his right

hand a bow ?, and in his left something uncertain ; star or sun above the altar. Opposed is a standing figure playing on a harp ? (or holding a bow ?). Below, an uncertain quatrefoil object.

Bought at Aleppo.

22. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 010$.

Figure standing on a bull ? to left and levelling a spear : opposed to him a figure armed with bow ? and sword. The first figure holds an ibex or antelope by the feet pendent from his left hand. To his left, a double eagle displayed. Three small quadrupeds in the field.

Bought at Aleppo.

23. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 025 \times \cdot 015$.

God seated to left holds in his left hand a long tube communicating with an amphora set on a low stool. With his right hand he grasps by the neck an animal or bird ? standing upon a barred structure (a closed gate ?). Under the tube is an altar bearing two offerings, flanked by a *libra*. In the upper field are seven pellets (stars). Beyond the altar stands a male figure on a conventional hill.

Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)

GROUP 3

24. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 025 \times \cdot 025$. Loop-bore. (Fig. 7.)

Two registers. (a) Four long-eared vases divided by tassels ; at the end of the row a pig-tailed figure seated to left stretches both hands to a vase. (b) Similar ; on the

- left a figure seated to right, and a chevron at the other end of the row.
North Syria. (Chester Collection.)
25. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 022 \times \cdot 021$. Loop-bore.
Two long-eared vases ? divided by pellets which seem intended to represent two human figures seated to left (or one human figure and a quadruped set sideways). Above are seven pellets (=stars?). Beyond the right-hand vase is a male figure standing to left. Beyond the left-hand vase (whose horns, or handles, end in human hands) are more drill-marks and strokes suggestive of a female ? figure seated to left. Above the vase are two pellets.
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)
26. Cylinder : mica schist : $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 020$. Loop-bore
Antelope or stag in course to left confronted by a dog or smaller antelope ; a spray (perhaps a detached antler ?) above the first antelope ; a bucranium and a winged pellet above the other. Group of seven bull's-eye circlets (stars). Below the circlets, a *libra*.
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)
27. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 025 \times \cdot 021$. Loop-bore.
Two spotted stags moving to left beneath horizontal sprays (or detached antlers). Pyramidal marks in the field below.
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)
28. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 023 \times \cdot 015$. Loop-bore.
Geometric design of bisected lozenges, with pyramidal marks filling the interior and exterior angles.
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)
29. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 026 \times \cdot 024$. Loop-bore.
A man, holding in his right hand a crook, leads a bull followed by a horse ? and a dog ?. Above the bull, a bird, and before it an indeterminable fill-up object ; above the antelope, a scorpion. Various marks in the field.
Bought at Aleppo.
30. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 013 \times \cdot 012$.
Two scorpions opposed head to head with a long-eared vase between.
Bought at Biridjik.
31. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 018 \times \cdot 018$.
Two registers each formed of two groups comprising long-eared vases, scorpions and squatting figures to left wearing flat caps and extending each an arm to a scorpion's tail. Five fill-up chevrons in the field.
Bought at Biridjik.
32. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 016 \times \cdot 016$.
Two registers of vases, each alternate vase inverted. On the right of each register a seated figure, similar to those on no. 31, extends an arm to a vase-handle.
Jebel Abu Gelgel.
33. Cylinder (concave barrel) : pink marble : $\cdot 016 \times \cdot 019$.
Squatting figures and vases ? (or *bucrania* ?).
Bought at Aradus. (Greg Collection.)
34. Cylinder (the barrel has four facets divided by vertical grooves) : steatite : $\cdot 018 \times \cdot 017$.
(a) Figure seated to left with hands uplifted ; (b, c) same figure, less finished ; (d) two squatting figures, one above the other, set inversely to the other subjects.
Unknown. (Greg Collection.)
35. Cylinder : grey limestone : $\cdot 018 \times \cdot 018$.
Radial pellets linked in pairs and set in rectangular doubly bordered panels.
Unknown. (Chester Collection.)
36. Cylinder : white marble : $\cdot 045 \times \cdot 040$.
Façade of a shrine, through whose open door is seen a table-altar. Right of the shrine a bucranium (or vase ?), and above it, two groups of one large and two small pellets (=vases?). Four antelopes approach from the right.
Ezaz.
37. Cylinder : pink marble : $\cdot 034 \times \cdot 028$
Two archers shooting to left : two groups of three eye-lozenges.
Bought at Aleppo.
38. Cylinder : mica schist : $\cdot 020 \times \cdot 008$.
Bull's-eye circlets, regularly disposed over the field.
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)
39. Cylinder : black serpentine : $\cdot 015 \times \cdot 012$.
Conventional design composed of an eye-lozenge and a long feathered tail (possibly derived from a scorpion of the type on no 30).
Karaj Ören.

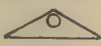

GROUP 4











40. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 024 \times \cdot 009$.
Two registers. (a) Hares in course to right. (b) Wild goats or antelopes running in the same direction. Between the registers, a ladder-border.
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)
41. Cylinder : haematite : $\cdot 019 \times \cdot 010$.
Two registers. (a) Group of two kneeling men opposed and two rampant lions? opposed, with a defaced object in the centre: flanking the group, a rampant lion. (b) A lion-sphinx, a lion, a bird, and a sphinx all moving to left in file.
Bought at Mumbidj.
42. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 026 \times \cdot 014$.
Eight-point sun-star surrounded by various fill-up marks (quatrefoil, &c.): to right, a stag in course to left, set sideways.
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)
43. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 018 \times \cdot 010$.
Man with both hands upraised before an altar: a quadruped with long tail placed sideways on the other side of the altar.
Bought at Ephesus. (Chester Collection.)
44. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 034 \times \cdot 017$.
Man in belted robe holding axe in his left hand and sickle-shaped object (throwing-

stick?) in his right, advances towards a lion which springs on an ibex or gazelle.
Bought at Aleppo.

45. Cylinder : white marble : $\cdot 020 \times \cdot 017$.
Man to left holding the fore-leg of an antelope which, apparently, he has thrown. To left are a disk with enclosed quatrefoil and a lion attacking an antelope. Axe-like sign above the hind-quarters of the latter (possibly, held in the left hand of the man).
Kirkis.
46. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 028 \times \cdot 016$.
Horse or stag? moving to left followed by an antelope.
Bought at Aleppo.
47. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 041 \times \cdot 014$.
Subject of uncertain interpretation.
Bought at Umrit. (Chester Collection.)
48. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 035 \times \cdot 015$.
Design of festoons, rosettes, and fill-up triangles. (Reversible type.)
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)
49. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 023 \times \cdot 023$.
Antelope in course to right followed by a stag, both being pursued by a lion, above which, a third stag. Fill-up marks in field.
Kharbet es-Shiab.

CLASS II B: GROUP 1

50. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 025 \times \cdot 022$.
Two figures opposed, that on the left wearing a sword. Quatrefoil mark between and strokes in the field above. 
Bought at Aleppo.
51. Gable : serpentine : $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 018$.
Two warriors opposed in combat, with a shield? between; the left-hand warrior wears a dagger in his belt. Two holes have been bored through the seal-face, each piercing one of the warriors in the middle. [Form as no. 60.]
Deve Huyuk.
52. Stalk (two bores) : steatite : $\cdot 022 \times \cdot 017$.
Two human figures seated on each side of a cross-legged altar bearing offerings. Pellets in the field. 
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)
53. Hemispheroid : steatite : $\cdot 023$.
Rough design representing a pillar? supported by two beasts?. [Form as no. 82.]
Bought at Beirut.
54. Stalk (stem broken off in antiquity, and a new bore made at its base) : steatite : $\cdot 044 \times \cdot 036$.
Five bull's-eye circlets, arranged symmetrically with two chevrons to fill up. [Form as no. 127.]
Tell Halaf. (Bought at Ras el-Ain.)
55. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 039 \times \cdot 030$.
Quadruped standing to left. Below, an uncertain object. [Form as no. 64.]
Bought at Aleppo.
56. Hemispheroid : steatite : $\cdot 026$.
A scorpion. [Form as no. 68.]
Bought at Biridjik.
57. Gable : greenish steatite : $\cdot 022 \times \cdot 020$.
A scorpion and a long-eared vase. [Form as no. 64.]
Cilicia. (Chester Collection.)

58. Gable : mica schist : $\cdot 018 \times \cdot 014$.
A scorpion. [Form as no. 113.]
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)
59. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 027 \times \cdot 026$.
Ibex or antelope passant to right. Fill-up
marks in the field. 
Kara Huyuk.
60. Hemispheroid : steatite : $\cdot 016 \times \cdot 016$.
Antelope- or ibex-head to left. 
Kharbet es-Shiab.
61. Hemispheroid : steatite : $\cdot 020$.
Antelope or ibex in course to left. 
Bought in London.
62. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 019 \times \cdot 017$.
Conventional design resembling a stretched
skin or an ingot. Four chevrons in the field.
[Form as no. 113.]
North Syria.
63. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 037 \times \cdot 027$.
Conventionalized design, apparently repre-
senting two gates each surmounted by a gable
containing a triangle ornament. 
Bought at Aleppo.
64. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 035 \times \cdot 029$.
Design of uncertain meaning, perhaps
representing two human heads and two hands.
Bought at Aleppo. 
- GROUP 2
65. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 032 \times \cdot 028$.
Antelope or ibex standing to left. Quatre-
foil and other fill-up marks in the field.
Bought at Aleppo. 
66. Gable : greenish steatite : $\cdot 036 \times \cdot 026$.
Antelope standing to left. Chevron and
other fill-up marks in the field above and
below. [Form as no. 64.]
North Syria. (Chester Collection.)
67. Hemispheroid : steatite : $\cdot 027$.
Antelope to left, attacked from above by
a hooded serpent. 
Bought at Aleppo.
68. Hemispheroid : grey steatite : $\cdot 045 \times \cdot 042$.
Antelope below and stag ? (or lion ?) above.
In the upper field a hooded ser-
pent. Fill-up marks in the field. 
Bought in Egypt. (Chester Collection.)
69. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 040 \times \cdot 025$.
Antelope standing to right. [Form as
no. 63.]
Arslan Tash, near Seruj.
70. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 038 \times \cdot 038$.
Stag standing to left. Serpent ? in front.
[Form as no. 101.]
Bought at Aleppo.
71. Loop : steatite : $\cdot 021$. (Stag rudely en-
graved on the stud-knob.)
Stag or antelope moving to right : above,
a lion ? in pursuit, and before, a dog ?. [Form
as no. 147.]
Bought at Tartus. (Chester Collection.)
72. Stud : black steatite : $\cdot 022$.
Horse to left below a lion. A bird in flight
above, and fill-up marks in the field. [Form
as no. 209.]
Syria. (Chester Collection.)
73. Discoid : greenish steatite : $\cdot 033 \times \cdot 028$.
Archer to right shooting at an antelope set
sideways. Pellets in the field.
Bought in Syria. (Chester Collection.)
74. Hemispheroid : steatite : $\cdot 031$.
Man moving to left with arms akimbo
between a goat or antelope (left) and an ox ?
(right) which stand on their hind legs with
their backs to the man. Fill-up pyramidal
marks and a wisp-like object (a bird ? or
winged disk ?) in the field. [Form as no. 68.]
Bought at Aleppo.
75. Hemispheroid, carinated : red serpentine :
 $\cdot 021$.
Ibex or antelope standing to right. Fill-
up chevron and other marks in the field. 
Cilicia. (Chester Collection.)
76. Hemispheroid, carinated : steatite : $\cdot 029$
 $\times \cdot 027$.
Antelope moving to right : hatching, spray,
and other fill-up marks in the field. [Form
as no. 75.]
Bought at Mumbidj.
77. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 022 \times \cdot 022$.
Two male figures opposed. A third smaller
figure on the left. [Form as no. 93.]
Bought at Aleppo.
78. Hemispheroid, carinated : grey steatite :
 $\cdot 028$.
Two monstrous figures opposed. (Re-
versible type.) 
Tell Kar.

79. Stalk (stem broken above the bore) : steatite : $\cdot 025 \times \cdot 021$.

Antelope or stag standing to right : fill-up marks in the field. Linear border.

Bought at Tartus. (Chester Collection.)



80. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 025 \times \cdot 016$.
Antelope moving to left followed by a lion.
[Form as no. 63.]
Bought at Aleppo.

81. Hemispheroid : steatite : $\cdot 035$.
Quadrupeds back to back. (Reversible type.) [Form as no. 82.]
Bought at Biridjik.

82. Hemispheroid : dark grey steatite : $\cdot 033$.
Conventionalized design derived from a scorpion?. (Reversible type.)
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)



83. Hemispheroid : grey steatite : $\cdot 024$.
Two quadrupeds, one horned, the other with projection on back. (Reversible type.)
[Form as no. 82.]
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)

84. Stalk : grey steatite : $\cdot 021$.
Design of uncertain meaning. [Form as no. 127.]
Bought at Aleppo.

85. Hemispheroid (slightly carinated) : red serpentine : $\cdot 027$.
Conventional design. (Reversible type.)
[Form as no. 75.]
Cilicia? (Chester Collection.)

86. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 033 \times \cdot 021$.
Four antelope-heads united by the necks.
[Form as no. 113.]
Bought at Mumbidj.

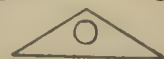
87. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 033 \times \cdot 025$.
Antelope moving to right. Chevron and stroke in field. [Form as no. 63.]
Bought at Aleppo.

88. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 024 \times \cdot 024$.
Bird standing to left : stroke and pellet in the field. [Form as no. 59.]
Resm el-Khadr, North Syria.

89. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 025 \times \cdot 023$.
Human figure? seated to right holding a sword? upright in his left hand; in front, a scorpion?. [Form as no. 113.]
Bought at Aleppo.

GROUP 3

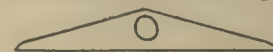
90. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 049 \times \cdot 033$.
Two antelopes moving to right. Fill-up chevron and marks in the field.
Bought at Aleppo.



91. Gable : greenish steatite : $\cdot 040 \times \cdot 031$.
Three antelopes moving to right. The two followers reduced by 'shorthand' to only two legs apiece. [Form as no. 90.]
Bought at Aleppo.

92. Gable : greenish steatite : $\cdot 033 \times \cdot 030$.
Antelope moving to left. Trefoil and other fill-up marks in the field. [Form as no. 93.]
Bought at Aleppo.

93. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 069 \times \cdot 044$.
Antelope and two goats moving to right in file. In the field, chevrons and other fill-up marks.
Marash.



94. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 043 \times \cdot 030$.
Fore-parts of two wild goats united (one inverted). Quatrefoil, chevrons, spray, and other fill-up marks in the field. (Reversible type.) [Form as no. 118.]
Killis.

95. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 048 \times \cdot 029$.
Three wild goats with common body moving to right, one with head depressed, another with head looking back. Spray in front.
[Form as no. 93.]
Bought at Beirut.




96. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 028 \times \cdot 024$.
Wild goat in course to right. Chevrons, trefoil, and other fill-up marks in the field.
[Form as no. 59.]
Gerata.

97. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 030 \times \cdot 020$.
Antelope or ibex in full gallop to right. Suggestion of rocky ground under the fore-legs and chevron above the hind-quarters.
[Form as no. 113.]
Bought at Aleppo.



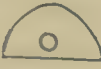

98. Gable : greenish steatite : $\cdot 034 \times \cdot 020$.
Three gazelles standing to right in file.
[Form as no. 59.]
Bought at Beirut. (Chester Collection.)

99. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 019 \times \cdot 014$.
Stag or wild goat standing to right : trefoil or chevron in front.
Tell Basher.





100. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 042 \times \cdot 025$.
Antelope and wild goat moving to right in file. [Form as no. 93.]
Bought at Aleppo.
101. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 048 \times \cdot 035$.
Bull and antelope in course to right. The antelope's head looks back, and is attached to the bull's shoulder in such a way that it shares body and legs with the latter. 
Bought in Paris.
102. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 036 \times \cdot 025$.
Ibex (or ram of Ammon type) standing to left. Quatrefoils in the field. [Form as no. 63.]
Cilicia. (Chester Collection.)
103. Gable : bronze : $\cdot 040 \times \cdot 035$.
Ibex (as on no. 102) standing to right. Chevron in front and trefoil in the field above. [Form as no. 63.]
Near Antioch (Syria). (Chester Collection.)
104. Gable (angles rounded) : steatite : $\cdot 034$.
Wild goat's head to left within a border of chevrons or degraded herring-bone. (Type breaking up.) 
Bought at Aleppo.
105. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 025 \times \cdot 022$.
Wild goat's head to left : fill-up marks above and below. [Form as no. 59.]
North Syria.
106. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 022 \times \cdot 016$.
Antelope or goat standing to right. (Type breaking up.) [Form as no. 59.]
Zoharajik, North Syria.
107. Gable : black serpentine : $\cdot 040 \times \cdot 028$.
Boar moving to right : four strokes in the upper field. [Form as no. 63.]
Jebel Abu Gelgel.
108. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 035 \times \cdot 024$.
Boar moving to right ; six strokes above and chevron in front. [Form as no. 63.]
Yuna (Sajur valley).
109. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 016 \times \cdot 013$.
Boar to right. Five strokes in the field above and a chevron. 
Tell Basher.
110. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 036 \times \cdot 026$.
Boar? moving to right (eye expressed by incision, and sun-star under belly incised like the eye) ; four strokes above the boar's back. (Type breaking up.) [Form as no. 113.]
Bought at Aleppo.
111. Gable (fragmentary : about two-thirds preserved) : steatite : $\cdot 077 \times (\cdot 073)$.
A stag or antelope moving to right, attacked by a lion, above. Above again, a man set sideways. Below the stag two bustard-like birds, one standing to left with head depressed, the other in flight with neck extended upwards. On the right (broken) uncertain indications.
Bought at Beirut.


GROUP 4

112. Gable : red serpentine : $\cdot 030 \times \cdot 021$.
Bull in course to right. Above its hind-quarters, a bird of prey. [Form as no. 59.]
Unknown.
113. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 025 \times \cdot 018$.
Lion standing to right. Trefoil above and fill-up stroke below. 
Tell Basher. (*Bought at Aintab.*)
114. Hemispheroid : steatite : $\cdot 016$.
Antelope standing to right. (Type breaking up.) 
Karaj Ören, North Syria.
115. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 020$.
Antelope standing to right. [Form as no. 59.]
Bought at Aleppo.
116. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 023 \times \cdot 020$.
Antelope standing to right. Uncertain object in front. [Form as no. 59.]
Bought at Damascus.
117. Hemispheroid : greenish steatite : $\cdot 027$.
Antelope moving to left. 
Tell Kar.
118. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 020 \times \cdot 012$.
Antelope standing to right. Chevron and pyramidal mark in front. 
Tell Basher.
119. Gable : red serpentine : $\cdot 015 \times \cdot 013$.
Ibex or antelope standing to right. Fill-up stroke below. [Form as no. 59.]
Tell Kar

120. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 018 \times \cdot 014$.
Two quadrupeds with common head, set back to back. (Reversible type.) [Form as no. 101.]
Bought at Aleppo.

121. Hemispheroid : black steatite : $\cdot 015$.
Strokes representing a broken-up design.
Tell Basher. (Bought at Mezra.) 

122. Stalk : greenish steatite : $\cdot 019$.
Strokes representing a broken-up design in two panels divided by a line.
Bought at Aleppo. 

123. Hemispheroid : red serpentine : $\cdot 018$.
Strokes representing a broken-up design, much worn.
Syria. (Chester Collection.) 

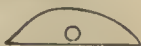
GROUP 5

124. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 028 \times \cdot 023$.
Geometric chevron design. [Form as no. 59.]
Near Antioch (Syria). (Chester Collection.)

125. Stalk (stem broken above the bore) : steatite : $\cdot 042 \times \cdot 032$.
Geometric chevron design.
Bought at Tyre. (Chester Collection.)



126. Hemispheroid : black steatite : $\cdot 035$.
Cross with chevrons between its arms.
Bought at Aleppo.



127. Stalk : steatite : $\cdot 019$. Slightly convex face.
Cross with chevrons and dots between its arms.
Bought at Smyrna. (Chester Collection.)



128. Stalk : green steatite ? : $\cdot 022 \times \cdot 017$.
Cross with chevrons and dots between its arms.
Antioch (Syria). (Chester Collection.)



129. Stalk : reddish grey steatite : $\cdot 031$.
Cross with hatchings between its arms.
Bought at Beirut (said to be from Baghdad). (Chester Collection.)



130. Stalk, the stem faceted : reddish grey steatite : $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 015$.
Cross with hatchings between its arms.
[Form as no. 127.]
Unknown. (Chester Collection.)

131. Hemispheroid : steatite : $\cdot 020$. (No through bore, but loop-bore which has broken out above.)

Cross with chevrons and dots between its arms.



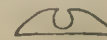
Bought at Tartus. (Chester Collection.)

GROUP 6

132. Hemispheroid, carinated (bore broken out at the back, which is flattened) : steatite : $\cdot 025$.

Ibex-head and two other pictographs probably representing animal-heads.

Cilicia? (Chester Collection.)



133. Hemispheroid, carinated : steatite : $\cdot 026$.
Antelope or ibex moving to right. Above are three animal heads? (or scorpions?).

Bought at Smyrna.



134. Hemispheroid, carinated : steatite : $\cdot 021$.
Two ibex-heads (or scorpions?) with fill-up pellets, &c., in the field. [Form as no. 60.]
Bought at Beirut.

135. Hemispheroid, carinated : steatite : $\cdot 022$.
Ibex- or antelope-head to front; fill-up lines in the field above and at the sides.
[Form as no. 75.]
Bought at Aleppo.

136. Hemispheroid, carinated : steatite : $\cdot 035$.
Relieved spiral, deeply cut. [Form as no. 75.]
Jebel Abu Gelgel.

GROUP 7

137. Gable : steatite : $\cdot 030 \times \cdot 027$.
Lion standing to right. Before it pictograph of an ass-head in profile; and below the belly a pellet. [Form as no. 63]
Cilicia. (Chester Collection)

138. Scaraboid : steatite : $\cdot 037 \times \cdot 023$.
Ibex or antelope moving to right. Tri-lobate mark under belly and border of pellets.
[Form as no. 202.]
Antioch, Syria. (Chester Collection.)

139. Scaraboid : yellow serpentine : $\cdot 029 \times \cdot 021$.
Lion moving to right: chevron in front.
[Form as no. 202.]
Jebel Abu Gelgel.

GROUP 8

140. Stud : steatite : .026. (Stellate pattern on the knob.)

Horse moving to right : lion? above to left : a quatrefoil object below the horse and other fill-up marks in the field.



Bought at Aleppo.

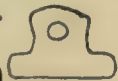
141. Stud : steatite : .032 x .028. (Radiate design on the knob.)

Horse to left : above, a lion and a bird in flight.



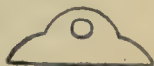
Bought at Beirut.

142. Loop : steatite : .021 x .027
Draped human body bent backwards on the point of an upright sword which has entered it at the waist. Below, a bird moving to left, pursued by a snake. Linear dentated border.



Syrian coast. (Chester Collection.)

143. Loop : steatite : .040 x .028.
Two horses, head downward, on either hand of an upright which may represent a tree or the degradation of a human figure.



Unknown. (Chester Collection.)

144. Loop : steatite : .028 x .028.
Quadruped (horse?) moving to left. A rude human figure? below and a small quadruped to left.



Tell Ahmar.

145. Stud : greenish steatite : .024 x .024. (Stellate design on the knob.)

Four animals, one in each leaf of the face and one in the centre. Antelope to right with head turned back (centre), winged griffin, lion, and dog (?) seated on his haunches. [Form as no. 140.]

Bought in Syria. (Chester Collection.)

146. Stud : green steatite : .035 x .035. (Gridiron pattern on the knob.)

Wild goat in course to left. Lion? above. Sprays, &c., in the field and a linear border.

North Syrian coast. (Chester Collection.)



147. Loop : steatite : .032 x .031.

Broken-up design derived apparently from an antelope seated to left. Fill-up pellets, &c., in the field.

Bought at Biridjik.



148. Stud : steatite : .040 x .036. (Gridiron design on the knob.)

Bull (or two bulls?) moving to right. Above, a man drawing a bow in chase. Fill-up pellets, &c. The whole within a border partly linear, partly dentated.

Bought at Aleppo.



149. Stud : steatite : .031 x .031.

Man to right pursuing game ; antelope and winged sphinx? shown on large scale in course to left in the main field, while two antelopes of smaller scale move to left below. Star, sprays, scorpion, &c., in the field. [Form as no. 140.]

Bought at Aleppo.

CLASS III A: GROUP 1

150. Cylinder : steatite : .033 x .018.
Two helmeted warriors, wearing loin-cloths and carrying spears point downwards, opposed on either hand of a crested griffin which stands to left, with a bird in flight below its belly. Two other warriors stand above the griffin ; before the foremost is a spear point downwards. Their arms seem to be pinned behind their backs. The principal figure on the left grasps with his right hand a standard? whose head and foot are both trident-shaped (=a lightning symbol?).

Tell Haudan (Jebel Abu Gelgel).

151. Cylinder : steatite : .028 x .013.
Goddess seated to right holding in both hands a double thong? and approached by two stags, above, and three wild goats and a stag, below. The thong held by the goddess seems to be attached to a horn of the leading goat, and perhaps her stool is intended to be supported on the antlers of a stag.

152. Cylinder : greenish-brown serpentine : .026 x .016.

Two main registers divided by band of bordered herring-bone plait. (a) Seated god and goddess opposed receive two adorants, of

whom one kneels, the other stands. Crescents enclosing sun-disks above, and an ape erect behind the god. To left rampant ibexes and lions opposed in pairs with a smaller animal (ibex or hare) below each pair, and birds dividing the pairs. (b) Two sub-registers, divided by a line and disposed inversely to no. 1. (i) Three groups of couched beasts opposed — human-headed, winged, and crested lion-sphinxes divided by an ape and flanked by a bucranium and a hare; lion and gazelle with symbol like a carpenter's square on the left; bird-headed, winged, and crested lion-sphinxes, divided by a displayed eagle. (ii) Eight cut-off human heads, and four hares in course to right.

Jebel Abu Gelgel.

153. Cylinder : haematite : $\cdot 014 \times \cdot 007$.

Two female figures seated opposed, each holding up a cup (or flower?) and flanked by nude male adorants in cross-legged (dancing?) posture. Below, two seated lions opposed. *Secondary*: Conventional palm-tree surmounted by a disk within a crescent which is flanked by birds. Below, two nude figures kneeling opposed, under a cord (or canopy) which seems to be supported in the middle by the palm-trunk.

Bought at Aleppo.

154. Cylinder : haematite : $\cdot 014 \times \cdot 007$.

Shrine or altar on which two birds perch back to back. To right five vertical columns of symbols, comprising three human heads with long hair (or feather head-dresses) to left, one to right, and one, bearded and horned, to front; two hares and a goat moving to left, two birds to right, a fish?, two human hands, a key?, and an ibex head to right.

Bought at Beirut.

155. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 014$.

Two groups: (a) squatting figure to right flanked by seated lions; (b) lion leaping to right on a seated antelope; a scorpion behind the lion. The two groups divided by a festoon of enclosed herring-bone plait.

Bought at Biridjik.

156. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 019 \times \cdot 012$.

Draped figure standing to right, with a sword before, a vase? or flower above, and a *libra* behind in a compartment marked off

by vertical lines. *Secondary*: (above) two lion-sphinxes opposed, divided by a belt of bordered herring-bone from (below) two goats to left opposed by a bird.

Bought at Aleppo.

157. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 019 \times \cdot 009$.

Three men dressed in loin-cloths, the second holding a spear point downwards before him, chasing two (or three?) birds to left.

Bought at Biridjik.

158. Cylinder : haematite : $\cdot 016 \times \cdot 008$.

Goddess seated to left on a high-backed chair: before her a pig-tailed man wearing belted loin-cloth and holding an axe? in his right hand; a bearded and horned human head before him. A bird-headed? winged figure, wearing long belted robe and sword approaches from right.

Jebel Abu Gelgel.

159. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 017 \times \cdot 010$.

Male figure holding a spear point downwards stands to left in a panel marked off by vertical lines. To left two lions? opposed, with spear, point downwards, between them. Above are marks now uncertain, perhaps a rude coil-band.

North Syria.

160. Cylinder : serpentine : $\cdot 016 \times \cdot 009$.

Two draped figures, both wearing long mantles (that on the right also a conical hat), opposed on each side of a human head raised upon a pole from whose base spring fronds?. This is flanked by heads of stag and wild goat. *Secondary*: Lion and bird-headed sphinx couched to right one above the other.

Bought at Aleppo.

161. Cylinder : haematite : $\cdot 015 \times \cdot 008$.

Two figures, one upholding a bird, and the other, a bucranium?, opposed on each side of a pair of couched ibexes, which have a common body. Under these a lion to left. On the left a *libra*, and on the right a composite standard or *ashera*, and a hare seated to right.

Jebel Abu Gelgel.

162. Cylinder : red serpentine : $\cdot 020 \times \cdot 010$.

Seated god, holding up an animal (or fishes?) attached by a cord?, receives a warrior in horned cap and loin-cloth leaning cross-legged on a staff, on whose head perches

- a bird. *Secondary*: two birds in flight to right divided by a coil-band. Sun-star and a bird (or squatting ape?) in the upper field.
Bought at Smyrna.
163. Cylinder; concave-sided barrel: steatite: $\cdot 023 \times \cdot 010$.
Two zones set inversely to one another and divided by a herring-bone belt. In each zone a file of long-necked and long-legged birds.
Tell Basher? (Bought at Aintab.)
164. Cylinder: steatite: $\cdot 030 \times \cdot 012$.
God, wearing horned conical cap and high knee-boots with up-curved toes, raising his right arm to strike and holding a lightning trident in his left, stands to left before a draped conical altar crowned with a cross. Two bow- or wing-shaped objects on each side of the altar, and two triangular symbols above. The altar is approached on the right by a man in long loose cloak, holding a lituus in his left hand, and an axe in his right. Two indistinct objects before his face.
Secondary: A vase, from which rise three fronds, and above it, a leaping stag or ibex. A crescent? above.
Tell Basher.
165. Cylinder: haematite: $\cdot 020 \times \cdot 012$.
Two groups: (a) Goddess enthroned to right receives a female adorant who offers a cup. (b) God enthroned to left receives two pairs—a draped male wearing a turban, who introduces a draped female figure, and a nude female in cross-legged dancing attitude, who introduces a male in bordered tunic bearing a sickle or lituus.
Bought at Aleppo.
166. Cylinder: haematite: $\cdot 022 \times \cdot 011$.
Janifrons bearded figure in horned hat presents a female in fringed mantle thrown back in front, who holds a fish pendent from her left hand, to a god seated to left on a throne with high back and lion-legs. *Secondary*: divided by a coil-band, (a) a winged lion-sphinx with eagle's head springing left on the hind-quarters of a wild goat; (b) two wild goats opposed back to back on each side of a palm-tree. Coil borders.
Bought at Aleppo.
167. Cylinder: haematite: ($\cdot 021$, broken at top) $\times \cdot 010$.
Biga, with horses yoked to a pole, driven to left, followed by three marching figures in belted loin-cloths with hands tied behind their backs. Below the horses a prostrate nude foe. Coil-band below, and two strokes of uncertain nature (= bolts hurled by warrior in the *biga*?) in the upper field.
Bought at Aleppo.
168. Cylinder: haematite: $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 011$.
Biga with six-spoked wheels driven to left by man draped in a long robe with cape or cloak hanging loose from his shoulders. The horses have plumed head-stalls, and under them appears a cut-off human hand. Four figures follow in file with hands tied behind their backs, and wearing drawers. Above them a coil-band.
Bought at Aleppo.

GROUP 2

169. Cylinder: haematite: $\cdot 017 \times \cdot 006$.
Goddess to front, with skirt thrown open, adored by male and female figures, the man in long fringed mantle and conical cap. He offers something indistinguishable. Above, a crescent. *Secondary*: A bird in flight to left above a palm-spray, below which is a goat seated to left.
Bought at Aleppo.
170. Cylinder: haematite: $\cdot 019 \times \cdot 008$.
Goddess, with drapery thrown open, standing to front under a canopy or tent, a fish on her right and a crane? on her left. She is adored, right and left, by two draped figures, each upholding some offering indistinguishable. A fish below an elbow of each. *Secondary*: An eight-rayed sun-star, a dagger (or wedge), and a fish, one below another.
Arslan Tash, North-west Mesopotamia.
171. Cylinder: haematite: $\cdot 018 \times \cdot 008$.
Nude goddess to front, adored by a male worshipper on the right. Between them an ape, and, above, a crescent. *Secondary*: Two figures with tails and bull's feet opposed on a platform, with a sacred tree between. Below, a kneeling figure holding an uncertain object before it.
Bought at Aleppo.
172. Cylinder: haematite: $\cdot 017 \times \cdot 010$.
Winged goddess, with skirt thrown open, stands before a furnished table-altar, and receives a female adorant offering an ear of corn?.

Behind the goddess a female attendant, before whom is a *crux ansata*, and another symbol?.
Secondary: A scorpion and a hare seated to left above a coil-band and an ibex moving to left.

Bought at Beirut.

173. Cylinder : haematite : .023 × .013.

God, standing to left on a couched lion and holding a sceptre or spear upright, receives a bearded adorant offering a calf? held up by the neck. *Secondary*: Three draped figures advance to left in file holding offerings, and behind them, under a canopy, a figure squats to front (or a human head and trunk rise out of a lotus?). Below are two seated lions opposed and a human-headed and winged lion-sphinx moving to right below a coil-band of decadent type.

Jebel Abu Gelgel.

174. Cylinder : haematite : .015 × .009.

Two figures in belted loin-cloths opposed, each grasping the trunk of a palm, and three draped figures standing to right in file.

Labd (near Mumbidj).

175. Cylinder : haematite : .019 × .010.

Goddess seated to left before a table-altar loaded with offerings, above which appear a bird in flight to left and a star. She receives an adorant in Babylonian cloak bearing a lituus. *Secondary*: A sphinx and an ibex moving to right and divided by a coil-band.

Bought at Aleppo.

176. Cylinder : haematite : .021 × .012.

Deity standing to left, with disk and crescent above, receives a male adorant bearing a lituus followed by a second (female?) with hands raised. *Secondary*: Two seated lions opposed, and two seated hares opposed divided by a coil-band.

North Syria.

177. Cylinder : greyish steatite : .024 × .011.

Goddess, in conical cap with knobbed peak, seated on a stool, holds by one paw a human-headed winged lion-sphinx rampant. Behind her, a female attendant to right. Crescent and disk above and ingot-shaped symbol in the lower field.

Jebel Abu Gelgel.

GROUP 3.

178. Cylinder : haematite : .025 × .012.

Two registers. (a) Draped deity in peaked cap seated to right on high-backed throne and

holding in his right hand a vase from which liquid spouts. He receives a figure in long fringed robe, introduced by a *janifrons* figure in short mantle: above the god a crescent and disk. *Secondary*: Two horned griffins (that on the right crested) each raise one paw over a human head fixed to right on a short pole. Coil-band below. (b) Two seated lions opposed with antelope or ibex between them and two seated ibexes opposed.

Bought at Tartus. (Chester Collection.)

179. Cylinder : haematite : .019 × .010.

Goddess, standing to front on the back of a bull, and holding open her skirt, is approached on either side by (1) a man in long loose cloak holding an ear of corn in his left hand, and (2) a female figure wearing Egyptian wig and crowned with disk and crescent, who holds a *crux ansata* pendent in her right hand. Above, a bird. *Secondary*: Two nude figures kneeling opposed with hands raised and *crux ansata* between them; coil-band below, and two lions seated opposed, each raising one paw.

Unknown.

180. Cylinder : haematite : .023 × .012.

Bearded and draped deity in horned hat, standing to left with right foot advanced on a stool, holds out something indistinguishable in his right hand, and receives (1) a draped figure in turban offering a goat: above the goat a sun-star; (2) a draped figure holding forked lightning of Caduceus type in his left hand and standing on a bull which he guides by a cord; (3) a male figure in a short belted tunic.

Unknown. (Murray-Aynsley Collection.)

GROUP 4.

181. Cylinder : haematite : .026 × .013.

Deity in horned conical hat wearing pigtail turned up in Chaldaean fashion, fringed robe, and sword, and holding a cup in his right hand (left arm passes through a fold of the robe), stands opposed to man wearing long pigtail? (or cape?), loose fringed cloak, and high cap. Behind the latter four symbols and three columns of Babylonian cuneiform writing which reads 'Indilimma (or Indišima) son of Sinirdamu (or Isirdama) servant of Ishara'.

Cilicia.

182. Cylinder : limonite : $\cdot 026 \times \cdot 010$.

Goddess in horned mitre and flounced skirt, approached by two figures; (1) Beardless man in bordered cloak and conical cap, carrying a mace in his left hand, holds by the hair and presents a captive suppliant, nude except for girdle and loin-cloth; above, a 'Hathor' head. (2) Bearded male wearing heavily-fringed and ample robe and a turban? with four horns and crescent peak, offers a cup? with his right hand. *Secondary*: Two opposed lion-sphinxes with human heads, that on the right male, that on the left female?; below, a pair of daisy-rosettes; and below these, two men fighting with swords, one wearing a cap, the other bareheaded. Coil border above and below.

Unknown. (Murray-Aynsley Collection.)

183. Cylinder : haematite : $\cdot 019 \times \cdot 009$.

Two registers divided by quadruple coil. (1) Three zebu oxen moving to left in file. (2) Three lions moving similarly.

Bought at Aleppo.

GROUP 5.

184. Cylinder : limonite : $\cdot 027 \times \cdot 013$. (Concave barrel.)

Six panels: (a) Antelope to left attacked from behind by griffin. (b) Nude hero to

left, throwing a bull; in the field, a *libra*. (c) Draped and bearded god seated to left; before him, three daisy-rosettes; behind, a *libra*. (d) Antelope to left attacked from behind by a lion. (e) Crested and winged human-headed sphinx to right opposed to a rearing antelope. (f) Ditto, to left, opposed by ditto.

Bought at Smyrna.

185. Cylinder : haematite : $\cdot 024 \times \cdot 012$.

Four groups, (1) lion clawing bull from behind; (2) griffin pursuing lion. Between these a palm-tree, below which is (3) a bull goring a fallen lion. To the right, in the lower field, is (4) a lion springing on the back of a bull. Above this group a *crux ansata*, and to right a 'Hathor' head. In the uppermost field an antelope? galloping to left.

Bought at Mumbidj.

186. Cylinder : haematite : $\cdot 015 \times \cdot 008$.

Two lions chasing two wild goats, an antelope and a bull to left. A daisy-rosette, a palm-tree, and two coils in the field.

Bought at Aleppo.

187. Cylinder : haematite : $\cdot 019 \times \cdot 007$.

Three registers of returning spirals (or bull's-eye circlets linked) divided by two bands of linked eye-lozenges.

Shebib.

CLASS III B: GROUP 1

188. Tripod : base silver : $\cdot 025$.

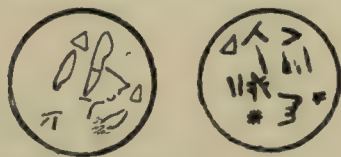
Male figure draped in a loose cloak and wearing flat cap (or hood?) moves to right holding out both hands. Before him, three Hittite characters, and behind, five (fig. 26).

Bought at Bor.



FIG. 26.

189. Tripod : base silver : $\cdot 025$. (The claw-handle has been fitted after the characters



A FIG. 27. B

on the back of the base-plate had been engraved; but it is of same alloy as the plate, and probably coeval.)

On the face, a Hittite inscription of six linear characters within a ladder border (fig.

27 A). On the back (see above), a Hittite inscription of eight? characters, one almost entirely concealed by a claw-foot (fig. 27 B).

Unknown.

190. Tripod : bronze : $\cdot 024$.

Hittite inscription of twelve characters (fig. 28) within a simple linear border (see Sayce, *P. S. B. A.* xxvii, p. 47).

Unknown. (Greg Collection.)

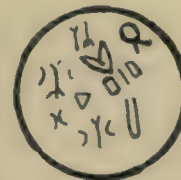


FIG. 28.

191. Tripod with semi-ovoid head : gold : $\cdot 026 \times \cdot 019$.

Group of two? or four? Hittite characters within a decorative border composed of trefoil blossoms and triangles; this again within a broader outer border of similar elements with the addition of daisy-rosettes and conventional trees (fig. 29).

Tamassos, Cyprus.

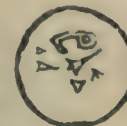


FIG. 29.

192. Knob? (stem broken off short): limestone: .023.

Double-headed eagle displayed: lituus-like appendages appear on each side below the wings. Double ladder-border.

Bought at Smyrna. (Chester Collection.)

193. Knob: steatite: .020.

Eagle displayed to left with lituus-like appendage on his head; a hare crouching to left under his talons. Sprays in the field on each side. [Form as no. 197.]

Asia Minor. (Bought in Paris.)

194. Ring: base silver: D. (of bezel) .028: (outside of ring) .026.

On the bezel a Hittite inscription (fig. 30) within a border of circles and wedges and one four-point star.

Samsun? (Bought at Cairo.) (Chester Collection.)



FIG. 30.

195. Ring: gold: D. (outer) .030: (inner) .021: breadth of bezel .013.

Winged deity wearing a conical cap and long mantle stands to left on the back of a sphinx which has a lion-head with Egyptian beard, and also a human head wearing conical cap with frontal horn. The god holds an ear of corn? with long curving stalk (or a leash attached to the sphinx) in his right hand. Two lions face towards the group from opposite sides; over each a Hittite script-character, and before and beneath each, two star-rosettes, while two similar star-rosettes appear over the head of the left-hand lion. Behind each, an upright sword-blade grasped by a human hand. Stars behind each blade, and palmettes in the extremities of the bezel.

Bought at Konia.

196. Hammer: haematite: .025 × .023. H. .039. (Cubical head with bevelled and vertically grooved angles: octohedral faceted stem.)

Engraved on the five faces: (1) *Base*: Goddess with pigtail and low horned cap, seated to left on a stool and holding an uncertain object before her, is approached by a male figure in short loose cloak, holding in his left hand a trident lightning symbol. Border of triple coils, arranged in four panels. (2) Draped god in conical mitre with frontal horn, is seated to left on a stool and



holds a trident on which perches a bird. He is approached by a pigtailed male in a similar mitre wearing a long mantle open in front, and carrying twin spears over his right shoulder. (3) Goddess in square mitre, with veil pendent behind and long robe, is seated to right on a stool, below which appears a bucranium? or scorpion?. Above, a winged disk. She holds a sheaf of three crossed arrows. Before her is an altar with pyramidal ribbed pedestal, supporting two crossed darts?: above is a lightning trident, flanked by *cruces ansatae* with triangular caps. She is approached by an eagle-headed and pigtailed figure in long straight robe, who holds an ear of corn before it. (4) Draped goddess in conical mitre seated to right on a stool and holding a goat by the feet in her right hand. She is approached by a male as in no. 1, who holds twin darts. Between them is a triangle above a *crux ansata*. (5) God in long robe and cap as in no. 2, seated to right on a cross-stool, holds up in his left hand a hare by the fore-legs and in his right a cup?: above, a bird, and before, a horned altar, which supports three offerings. Above this altar, a *crux ansata*.

Tarsus. (Chester Collection.)

197. Knob (heptahedral faceted stem): haematite: .017.

Bearded figure in long robe and low flat cap, seated to left on a chair with high curving back, extends his left hand towards a bird (hawk?) which is perched upon five reeds or fronds growing out of an amphora.

Border of continuous returning spirals.

Cilicia? (Bought in Paris.)



GROUP 2.

198. Scaraboid: brownish steatite: .025 × .020. (On the back a spine and two radiating pairs of lines.)

Lion and stag back to back. (Reversible type.)

Bought at Aleppo.



199. Scaraboid: brown limestone: .024 × .020. (On the back three spinal lines and two groups of three lines radiating from the spine, with four crosses in the angle spaces.)

Lion moving to right: scorpion? above: behind, a rhomb enclosing a cross, and below, a spray or fish or lizard. [Form as no. 198.]

Deve Huyuk.

200. Hemispheroid (slightly carinated): steatite: .021.

Goat moving to right. Chevrons before and above.

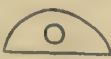
Bought at Damascus.



201. Hemispheroid: steatite: .027.

Antelope standing to left: stroke and pellets above (=survivals of horns?).

Asia Minor. (Chester Collection.)



202. Scaraboid: steatite: .045 x .035. (On the back, four pairs of lines radiating obliquely from a spine across which subject 2, *v. infra*, is engraved.)

(1) *Face.* Two lions rampant, heraldically opposed with a star above. Behind the right-hand lion a snake?, and in the field, fill-up strokes and star-pellets.

(2) *Back.* Quadruped standing to left below a snake? (which may be a horn), the whole within a roughly squared linear frame.

Antioch, Syria. (Chester Collection.)



GROUP 3

203. Stud: black mica schist: .033 x .032 (Stellate design on the stud-knob.)

Antelope in course to left. Lion attacking above. Fill-up elements in the field, and a linear border. [Form as no. 262.]

Near Antioch, Syria. (Chester Collection.)

204. Stud: greenish steatite: .025 x .027.

Antelope in course to left. Lion above. Dentated linear border. [Form as no. 209.]

Bought at Aleppo.

205. Stud: steatite: .018 x .016. (Stellate design on the stud-knob.)

Antelope in course to left: fill-up wedge below, and uncertain object (probably degradation of lion attacking) above. [Form as no. 209.]

Bought at Beirut.

206. Stud: steatite: .025 x .022. (Stellate design on the stud-knob.)

Antelope in course to left: above, a lion attacking. Coil-band or spray below, and fill-up elements in the field. Linear border. [Form as no. 209.]

Bought at Smyrna.

207. Loop: black schist: .018 x .018. (Stellate design on the loop-handle.)

Antelope in course to left. Lion attacking above. Chevron in the field. Linear border.

Bought at Aleppo.



208. Stud: steatite: .029 x .028.

Antelope in course to left. Lion attacking above. Degraded type. [Form as no. 209.]

Bought at Aleppo.

209. Stud: greenish steatite: .021 x .019. (The handle grooved horizontally.)

Antelope moving to left and lion to right above. Fill-up elements. Linear border.

Near Antioch, Syria. (Chester Collection.)



210. Stud: steatite: .025 x .022. (Gridiron design on the stud-knob.)

Antelope (or bull?) moving to left and turning its head back towards an uncertain object in the upper field (probably degradation of a lion). Linear border. [Form as no. 209.]

North Syria. (Chester Collection.)

211. Stud: schist: .019 x .019. (Gridiron design on the stud-knob.)

Winged lion-sphinx standing to left. Linear border. The sphinx has a human head and wears a flat cap and pigtail. Behind, above, an uncertain object in the field, perhaps a crest projecting from the sphinx's head.

Tell Kar (North Syria).



212. Loop: steatite: .020.

Lattice design.

Bought at Aleppo.



213. Loop: steatite: .025.

Lattice design.

Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)



214. Loop: grey steatite: .020 x .020.

Cross with hatching between the arms.

Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)



215. Loop: steatite: .020.

Cross with rays between the arms. [Form as no. 212.]

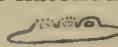
Cilicia. (Chester Collection.)

216. Hemispheroid: steatite: .024.

Cross with chevrons, &c., between the arms.

Bought at Ephesus. (Chester Collection.)



217. Loop: green serpentine: $\cdot 016 \times \cdot 014$.
Chevron design of 'labyrinth' type. [Form as no. 144.]
Bought at Smyrna. (Chester Collection.)
218. Loop: mica schist: $\cdot 030 \times \cdot 029$. (Three loop handles, two broken.)
Four bull's-eye circlets: the field hatched.
Antioch, Syria. (Chester Collection.) 

CLASS IV_A: GROUP 2

219. Cylinder: glazed compost (scorched): $\cdot 032 \times \cdot 014$.
Bearded man drawing a bow to left. Before him a winged sphinx to left. Before it an altar with offerings surmounted by fronds (or a combination of a sacred tree and an altar), with crescent and winged eye-disk above. A knob-headed staff behind the man and cuneiform marks (or birds?) in the field. Linear borders.
Bought at Beirut.
220. Cylinder: glazed compost (broken): $(\cdot 022) \times \cdot 010$.
Two eagles with human bearded heads standing opposed. Crescent moon above the left-hand one. Cuneiform and other marks and a pellet in the field.
Bought at Aleppo.
221. Cylinder: glazed compost: $\cdot 030 \times \cdot 011$.
Bearded man drawing a bow to right at a horned and winged lion-sphinx with bird head. A palm-tree between them.
Bought at Aleppo.
222. Cylinder: steatite: $\cdot 030 \times \cdot 013$.
Bearded man kneeling on his left knee draws a bow to left at an opposed lion-sphinx (broken). Behind, a tasselled *ashera* upon a stool-pedestal surmounted by a sun-star.
Arab Punar, Mesopotamia.
223. Cylinder: brown steatite: $\cdot 020 \times \cdot 011$.
Bearded man in belted tunic leads a lion? to right, followed by a second lion? (or griffin?) ridden by another bearded man who holds up his hands (or, perhaps, the man is intended to be shown standing on the off-side of the lion.)
Bought at Aleppo.
224. Cylinder: dark green serpentine: $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 010$.
Lion springing on the hind-quarters of an antelope moving to left. Behind the lion a tree, and above, a crescent. In the field above, a crescent and a sun-star.
Bought at Tartus. (Chester Collection.)
225. Cylinder: bronze: $\cdot 016 \times \cdot 009$.
Four goats or antelopes moving to left.
- They are set sideways. The type is, apparently, reversible.
Bought at Aleppo.
226. Cylinder: steatite: $\cdot 023 \times \cdot 011$.
Bull moving to right towards an eyed sun-star of fourteen rays; above, a crescent. Linear borders.
Bought at Beirut.

GROUP 3.

227. Cylinder: glazed compost: $\cdot 026 \times \cdot 010$.
Archer, holding a bow and arrow in his right hand and raising the other, in pursuit of a crested serpent erect. Linear borders.
Bought at Aleppo.
228. Cylinder: glazed compost: $\cdot 019 \times \cdot 009$.
Archer drawing a bow to left at a scorpion erect and a hooded serpent similarly erect.
Bought in Egypt. (Chester Collection.)
229. Cylinder: glazed compost: $\cdot 030 \times \cdot 011$.
Two stags opposed on either hand of a sacred tree. Above a scorpion?. Double linear borders.
Deve Huyuk.
230. Cylinder: glazed compost: $\cdot 018 \times \cdot 008$.
Two pigtailed figures in long robes grasp or hold up a tree above a cross-legged altar. *Secondary*: Two bulls tail to tail with heads reversed; three cut-off human hands, conventionalized; four antelopes or goats couched, three to right and one to left.
Bought in Syria. (Chester Collection.)
231. Cylinder: glazed compost: $\cdot 024 \times \cdot 012$.
Two figures in long robes and mantles opposed on either hand of a tree. Their pigtailed tails are turned up and tied in Chaldaean fashion. The right-hand figure (male) wears a conical tiara, the other (female?) a flat cap. *Secondary*: Four bearded heads to right wearing conical tiaras and pigtailed; two bulls couched to right and turning their heads back; a daisy-rosette and a bull's-eye in the field above, and a spiral band between the groups.
Bought in Lower Egypt. (Chester Collection.)

232. Cylinder : glazed compost : $\cdot 022 \times \cdot 009$.
Stag, erect on its hind legs to left, divides two groups of three figures wearing round helmets, beards, and pigtails, and moving to left (set vertically). Linear borders.

Syria. (Chester Collection.)

233. Cylinder : glazed compost : $\cdot 026 \times \cdot 012$.
Two stags with common head, couched back to back. To right, three seven-rayed stars in a panel. Linear borders.

Bought in Syria. (Chester Collection.)

234. Cylinder : glazed compost : $\cdot 027 \times \cdot 013$.
Two stags couched to left, set sideways. Linear borders.

Bought at Ephesus? (Chester Collection.)

GROUP 4

235. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 025 \times \cdot 010$.
Goddess, wearing *polus* and holding a mace or axe in her left hand, stands to right on a lion. Before her, a vase from which grows a long frond or ear of corn. Approaching her are (a) a god, with forked lightning in his right hand and a javelin brandished in his left, standing on the back of a bull?; (b) a male figure, in tunic and pigtail, holding something indistinguishable in his right hand and leading by the left (c) a figure with scorpion tail and bird's feet, who brandishes a mace? in his left hand. Below, a winged human-headed lion-sphinx to left. Dentated borders.

Bought at Aleppo.

236. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 009$.
Deity with flowing locks, seated in a chair to left, receives an adorant who wears pigtail and horned helmet?. Between them, an altar on which the adorant offers a wild goat's head; also an amphora on a stand. Above, an eagle displayed. Cuneiform fill-up marks and pellets in the field. Dentated borders.

Deve Huyuk.

237. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 020 \times \cdot 010$.
Lion pursuing winged bull to left; star, crescent, and fill-up marks in the upper field. Dentated borders.

Rum Kaleh.

238. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 030 \times \cdot 015$.
Two nude figures shooting with bows from opposite sides at a group consisting of a long-necked bird moving to left behind a wild goat erect on its hind-legs, browsing on a

sacred tree, which is flanked at the base by bow-like supports. To the left, a smaller tree or spray, and between the left-hand archer and the tree, a star-pellet.

Deve Huyuk.

239. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 021$ (broken at top) $\times \cdot 014$.

Legs of a man moving towards a ladder, his right foot being on the lowest rung. The rest of the scene probably represents some building or stockade on a ground line, but is not intelligible in the present state of the cylinder.

Bought at Aleppo.

GROUP 5

240. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 022 \times \cdot 009$.
Stag moving to right followed by two wild goats in file, and a third placed above the first. Cuneiform fill-up marks in the field. Linear borders.

Deve Huyuk.

241. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 020 \times \cdot 009$.
Goddess, with arms upraised, seated to left upon the back of a lion which is followed by a stag. In front, a sacred tree.

Kefrik.

242. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 020 \times \cdot 010$.
Stag or wild goat moving to right, followed by a stag, above which is a conventionalized ibex seated to left with head reversed. Fill-up marks in the field. Dentated borders of debased type.

Bought at Aleppo.

243. Cylinder : red serpentine : $\cdot 024 \times \cdot 010$.
Lion to right leaping upon stag from behind, followed by two antelopes moving to right. A crescent above. Borders of linked eye-lozenges (or debased coils).

Bought at Aleppo.

244. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 019 \times \cdot 009$.
Draped figure, standing to left on a horse, shoots with a bow at a stag and two? antelopes or an antelope and a bird. Before the stag a cruciform object; in the upper field, another antelope in course to left.

Bought at Tartus. (Chester Collection.)

245. Cylinder : black serpentine : $\cdot 019 \times \cdot 009$.
Man in tunic holding by the necks two antelopes right and left. *Secondary*: Altar bearing offerings below a wheel-disk and an inverted crescent.

Bought at Aleppo.

246. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 029 \times \cdot 014$.

Two figures seated back to back on each side of a tree flanked above by two birds. Before the left-hand figure a table-altar with offerings; beyond this another figure (defaced). Above, a lion leaping from behind on a quadruped to right. Behind, a two-headed eagle?

Tell Haudan, Jebel Abu Gelgel.

247. Cylinder : red serpentine : $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 012$.

Deity seated to right on a cross-legged stool before two scorpions? receives an adorant who offers something. Behind the deity a *libra*. A crescent above and pellets below.

Bought at Beirut.

248. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 022 \times \cdot 011$.

Two men, of whom the leader hurls a bolt at a scorpion; the second, divided from the first by an eagle displayed to left, grasps a palm-tree staff with his right hand and a kid? with his left.

Bought at Beirut.

249. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 023 \times \cdot 013$.

Goddess seated to left: behind her a crescent on a staff upheld by an ape?; before her, an eagle to left displayed. A horseman (inverted) with bow? or spear slung over his shoulder moves to the right.

Bought at Aleppo.

250. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 019 \times \cdot 009$.

Four inverted crescents with two oblique rays descending from each to a ground line, and pellets above. Below the line, three scorpions to left.

Jebel Abu Gelgel.

251. Cylinder : steatite : $\cdot 023 \times \cdot 010$.

Stag moving to left, under a crescent moon, towards a tree, at whose feet a long-necked bird is feeding. In the field, six pellets and a wedge. Linear borders.

Bought at Aleppo

CLASS IV B: GROUP 1

252. Stud : black steatite : $\cdot 013$.

Horse (or antelope?) to left: lion? above. [Form as no. 209.]

North Syrian coast. (Chester Collection.)

253. Loop : greenish steatite : $\cdot 019 \times \cdot 019$.

Stag in course to left. [Form as no. 263.]

Tell Kar.

GROUP 2

254. Hammer : white marble : $\cdot 019$. (Cylindrical stem of oval section.)

Lion with open jaws moving to left below two eagles in flight. Pellets below.



Sidon. (Greg Collection.)

255. Hammer : white marble : $\cdot 020$.

Wild goat in course to left with a lion to left above. Before, a tree, and above, an eagle displayed. [Form as no. 254.]

Bought at Tartus. (Chester Collection.)

256. Stud : steatite : $\cdot 025 \times \cdot 021$.

Bull? moving to left: above, an eagle inverted. [Form as no. 262.]

Bought at Beirut.

257. Loop : ivory : $\cdot 023$. (Handle broken.)

Lion and bull rampant opposed; behind

the bull a second lion to left, a second bull, and an ibex. Behind the first lion an eagle displayed (degraded), and in the lower field, a fish.

Bought in Paris.

258. Stud : white steatite : $\cdot 019$. (Stellate design on knob.)

Stag galloping to left. Before it, a scorpion?. In the upper field, a human figure? to the waist holding a tree; an eagle displayed, and a chevron. [Form as no. 259.]

Bought at Aleppo.

259. Stud : limestone : $\cdot 020$.

Griffin moving to left: five pellets in the field.

Hammam.



GROUP 3

260. Hemispheroid : red serpentine : $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 018$.

Stag moving to left; lion to left above. Fill-up chevron in the upper field. [Form as no. 60.]

Bought at Aleppo.

261. Scaraboid : black serpentine : $\cdot 024 \times \cdot 018$. (On the back a triple spine and four triads of oblique tangents.)

Horse (or bull?) standing to left; fill-up marks above and beneath, that above being of degraded eagle type, that below an ibex head?

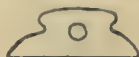
Bought at Aleppo.



262. Stud: steatite: .035 x .021.

Horse galloping to left with smaller quadruped (dog?) beneath. Scorpion in front and fill-up marks in the field.

Bought in Beirut.



GROUP 4

263. Loop: steatite: .027 x .024.

Goddess seated to right on a stool and apparently upholding with her left hand a crescent moon. An adorant, wearing pigtail and sword, approaches, offering something (a small animal?) pendent from his right hand.

?*Bought at Jebel (Byblus).* (Chester Collection.)



GROUP 5

264. Stud: white marble: .031 x .020.

Man moving to right with hands uplifted. A streamer depends from his left elbow. In front, a serpent erect and an indistinct object (scorpion?). Above, a stag set sideways. Linear border.

On the top of the stud-knob, a man moving to right with uplifted hands and looking back. Uncertain mark in the field before him. Linear border. [Form as no. 211.]

Bought at Tartus. (Chester Collection.)

265. Hemispheroid: red serpentine: .017

Antelope in course to right. Fill-up marks in the field, and degraded dotted border.

Bought at Sidon. (Greg Collection.)



266. Hammer: black serpentine: .014 x .012

Stag or antelope in course to right. *Bought at Aleppo.*



267. Knob: bronze: .017.

Cow moving to right towards a spray. Below it a calf?

Bought at Tartus. (Chester Collection.)



268. Stalk: steatite: .023 x .014. (Cross within an oval engraved on the top of the stem.)

Quadruped standing to right?. Chevron and other fill-up marks in the field.

North Syria. (Chester Collection.)



269. Stalk: steatite: .022.

Bull moving to left and looking back; fill-up sprays, &c., in the field.

On the top of the stem design of crossed lotus-blooms and leaves.

Bought at Beirut.



270. Stalk: steatite: .020 x .015.

Bull moving to right on a ground line. A palm-tree in front and a crescent and a stroke in the field above.

Antioch (Syria). (Chester Collection.)



271. Stud: greenish steatite: .016 x .013.

Horse standing to left before a tree or spray. Bird? to left above and uncertain object (scorpion?) below. [Form as no. 272.]

Bought at Smyrna. (Chester Collection.)

272. Stud: steatite: .016.

Goat standing to left: spray before and seven pellets (stars) behind.

Kundariyeh, North Syria.



273. Stud: greenish steatite: .019 x .014.

Quadruped (stag?) with elongated body standing to right: a spray before and an uncertain object below. [Form as no. 209.]

Bought at Aleppo.

274. Foot: steatite: .058 x .023.

On the sole, two antelopes opposed on either side of a tree. To the right, toe-marks and a crescent and two pellets. Linear border. See Fig. 6, p. 17.

Bought at Aleppo.

GROUP 6

275. Conoid: purplish serpentine: .019 x .014.

Two monsters, with human heads, bearded, crowned, and fish-tailed, rampant and crossed.

Karatashli, Jebel Abu Gelgel.



276. Conoid: glazed steatite: .017.

Palm-tree flanked by uraei erect. *Deve Huyuk.*







277. Conoid: dark grey steatite: .015 x .016.

Bucranium between sprays. Trefoil above. [Form as no. 275, but horizontal section oval.] *North Syria.* (Chester Collection.)

278. Conoid: steatite: .017 x .012.






Antelope standing to left. Fill-up chevrons above and below. [Form as no. 276.]

Tell Basher? (*Bought at Aintab.*)

279. Conoid : steatite : $\cdot 016 \times \cdot 016$.
Goat standing to right and turning its head towards a bird in the upper field. Lotus in front. [Form as no. 275.]
Bought at Beirut.
280. Conoid : mica schist : $\cdot 018 \times \cdot 015$.
Antelope or bull moving right towards a tree. Behind it a human figure.
Near Antioch, Syria. (Chester Collection.) 
281. Conoid : steatite : $\cdot 016 \times \cdot 018 \times \cdot 015$.
Antelope to right : spray before : behind, a spray (or degradation of human figure in pursuit?). Below, a spray (or scorpion?). [Form as no. 280.]
Bought at Beirut.
282. Conoid : marble : $\cdot 021$. (Two circular mouldings just above the base and cross ribbing on the apex.)
Lion to left attacking a bull? : spray before and crescent and scorpion? above.
Bought at Aleppo. 
283. Conoid : greenish steatite : $\cdot 020$. (Cone moulded to represent a coiled snake.)
God? seated on a stool left. Before, an adorant.
North Syrian coast. (Chester Collection.) 
284. Conoid : steatite : $\cdot 016 \times \cdot 010$.
Horse? moving right towards spray. Quatrefoil (degradation of scorpion?) above.
Near Antioch, Syria. (Chester Collection.) 
285. Conoid : steatite : $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 019$.
Horse? moving right towards tree or spray : scorpion above and bird? below. [Form as no. 284, but horizontal section oval.]
Bought at Tartus. (Chester Collection.)
286. Conoid : steatite : $\cdot 015$.
Bull moving right towards a spray : scorpion above. [Form as no. 280, without horizontal grooves.]
Bought at Tartus. (Chester Collection.)
287. Conoid : steatite : $\cdot 016$.
Bull moving left. A mark in front, perhaps representing a tree. Scorpions above and below. [Form as 284.]
Bought at Beirut. (Chester Collection.)

288. Conoid : steatite : $\cdot 014$.
Stylized palm-tree flanked by two scorpions heads downwards. [Form as 284.]
Bought in Syria (Chester Collection.)

GROUP 7

289. Scaraboid : glazed steatite : $\cdot 021 \times \cdot 006$.
Draped man, with hands uplifted, standing left between sprays.
Deve Huyuk. 
290. Scaraboid : glazed steatite : $\cdot 015 \times \cdot 006$.
Egyptian *nub* signs flanking an eye symbol above an altar?.
Deve Huyuk. 
291. Scaraboid : steatite : $\cdot 016 \times \cdot 013$.
Bull moving right towards spray.
Syria. (Chester Collection.) 
292. Scaraboid (the back carved as a human face) : steatite : $\cdot 017 \times \cdot 014$.
Antelope in course right turning its head towards pursuing man. Spray below and lotus? before.
Bought at Beirut. 
293. Scaraboid : steatite : $\cdot 017 \times \cdot 015$.
Horse moving right towards tree : scorpion above and bird? below. [Form as 291.]
Bought on the North Syrian coast. (Chester Collection.)
294. Scaraboid : steatite : $\cdot 017 \times \cdot 015$ (hatched back).
Antelope galloping left : above, winged sphinx and antelope back to back. Two pellets in the field. [Form as 290.]
Bought at Beirut.
295. Scaraboid : red serpentine : $\cdot 018 \times \cdot 016$.
Two antelopes in full gallop, left, set inversely : spray between, chevron above, and five pellets in the field.
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.) 
296. Scaraboid : serpentine : $\cdot 016 \times \cdot 014$.
Lion to left, following antelope, set sideways. Above, crescent and star. [Form as 291.]
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)
297. Scaraboid : steatite : $\cdot 016 \times \cdot 013$.
Stag moving left. Spray? above. [Form as 291.]
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)

298. Scaraboid : red serpentine : $\cdot 015 \times \cdot 013$. Archer in tiara shooting left at a large bird to left. Behind, a spray. [Form as 291.] *Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)*
299. Scaraboid : grey steatite : $\cdot 017 \times \cdot 014$. Wild goat moving right. Above, eye-lozenge and fish. [Form as 291.] *Bought at Biridjik.*
300. Scaraboid : serpentine : $\cdot 020 \times \cdot 016$. Pigtailed archer shooting right : behind, altar supporting cup (or lotus ?) : star above. Before, suggestion of a quadruped. [Form as 291.] *Bought at Aleppo.*
301. Scaraboid : steatite : $\cdot 015 \times \cdot 013$. Antelope or goat moving left : sprays before and behind, and triangular mark of uncertain meaning above. [Form as 291.] *Labd.*
302. Scaraboid (domed) : steatite : $\cdot 015$. (Circular.) *Obv.* Two draped bearded figures in tiaras opposed holding up cups ? in their right hands on each side of a sacred tree, towards the top of which each extends his left hand. *Rev.* Winged antelope or goat moving to left amid sprays. [Form as 291.] *Bought at Biridjik.*
303. Scaraboid (domed) : steatite : $\cdot 014$. (Circular.) *Obv.* Goat moving right. *Rev.* Stellate design. [Form as 291.] *Unknown.*

304. Scaraboid (domed) : mottled red serpentine : $\cdot 013 \times \cdot 010$. Bearded, crowned, and winged sphinx moving left. In the field three (or four ?) Hittite script characters ? (that before the sphinx especially doubtful) and a pellet (fig. 31). *Jebel Abu Gelgel.*
305. Scaraboid (domed) : mottled red serpentine : $\cdot 013 \times \cdot 010$. Three Hittite script characters (fig. 32). [Form as 291.] *Jebel Abu Gelgel.*
306. Scaraboid (domed) : haematite : $\cdot 018 \times \cdot 015$. Three Hittite script characters (the same as on no. 305) (fig. 33), flanked on the left by crescent moon, eye-lozenge or rhomb, seven-rayed sun-star, seven pellet-stars, and symbol of femininity ?. [Form as 291.] *Marash ? (Bought at Aleppo.)*
307. Tabloid : greenish steatite : $\cdot 035 \times \cdot 026 \times \cdot 011$. (Two bores.) (a) *Obv.* Lion to right and two antelopes (one set sideways) in course and an eagle stooping above the second antelope. (b) *Rev.* Nude figure squatting in tabernacle or shrine with upper partition enclosing a round object. On the left, two goats stand right, attached by cords to the tabernacle. *Marash. (Greg Collection.)*



FIG. 31.



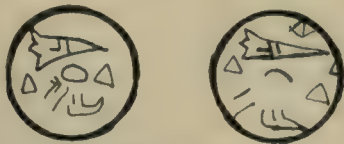
FIG. 32.



FIG. 33.

SEMI-BULLAE

308. Semi-bulla : red serpentine : $\cdot 029$. 1. *Face.* Legend in Hittite linear script within border of decorative elements. 2. *Back.* Same legend, with one added character



A FIG. 33*. B

(fig. 33* A, B), within degraded cuneiform border, and outer border (much worn and

not shown in the photograph) similar to that on face.

Cappadocia ? (Bought in Paris.)



309. Semi-bulla : red serpentine : $\cdot 020$.

1. *Face.* Legend in Hittite linear script (fig. 34) within a border of decorative elements. 2. *Back.* Probably the same legend as on the face within similar border (too much worn for illustration).

Unknown



FIG. 34.



310. Semi-bulla : blackish serpentine : .020.

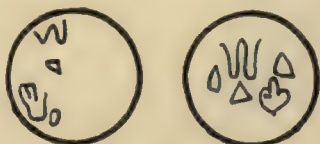
1. *Face*. Conventional design (= degraded representation of a displayed eagle? with disk or rosette above). 2. *Back*. An inner border of degraded cuneiform elements survives: the rest of the subject perished (not illustrated).

Cilicia. (Chester Collection.)



311. Semi-bulla : white steatite : .022.

1. *Face*. Male figure moving left, extending right hand: he wears pigtail, conical cap



A FIG. 35. B

with frontal horn, and up-pointed shoes and sword (fig. 35 A, B). Sex-organ indicated. On the left, legend in Hittite script characters, and

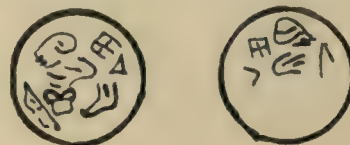
on the right, two rosettes or disks, a trefoil or lotus, and a fish?. 2. *Back*. Hittite legend within inner ladder border and outer border of decorative elements (not shown in the photograph).

Unknown.



312. Semi-bulla : bronze (hollow) : .030.

1. *Face*. Hittite linear legend within border of detached spiral coils. 2. *Back*. The same



A FIG. 36. B

(fig. 36 A, B); but most of the central inscribed panel has broken away (not illustrated).

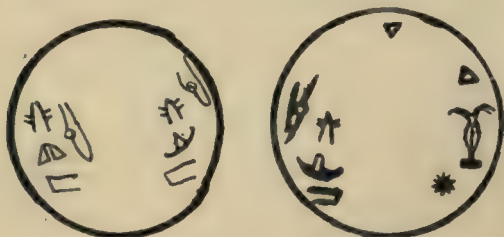
Bought in London.



BULLAE

313. Bulla : steatite : .031.

Obv. Beardless man, wearing conical horned cap, belted tunic, and up-pointed shoes, advances left with lituus over his left shoulder and bird perched on his right fist. To right and left, identical legends in relieved



A FIG. 37. B

Hittite script (fig. 37 A, B). *Rev*. Man, similarly clad, advancing left with bird on his right fist, and bow slung over his left shoulder and sword at his waist. To left, the same Hittite legend as on the obverse: on his right two triangles or caps, a vase?, and a star.

Tell Basher. (*Bought at Aintab*.)



314. Bulla : steatite : .017.

Obv. Man marching right, wearing belted tunic and conical horned cap, with bow slung over his right shoulder and bird? on his left fist: within a ladder

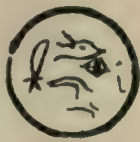


FIG. 38.

border. *Rev*. Legend in Hittite script within a cuneiform border (fig. 38).

Tell Basher. (*Bought at Aintab*.)



315. Bulla : steatite : .022.

(1) Eagle-headed lion-sphinx, crested and winged, seated right: stars, triangles or caps, and a trefoil in the field. (2) Legend in Hittite script (fig. 39). [Form as 313.]

Bought at Aleppo.

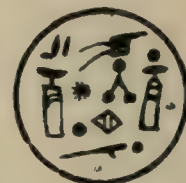


FIG. 39.

316. Bulla : steatite : .020.

On each face eagle-headed and winged lion-sphinx seated right. On the reverse a star-pellet above the tail. [Form as 313.]

Bought at Aleppo.

317. Bulla : greenish steatite : .027.

Obv. Man in tunic, moving left, with one arm raised and the other extended: triangle and strokes in the field. *Rev*. Winged and crested sphinx standing to left: triangle or cap in the field above

Near Antioch (Syria). (Chester Collection.)



318. Bulla : green steatite : .027.

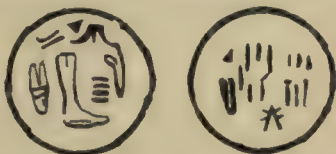
(a) Wild goat moving right: crescent above: indistinguishable mark below. (b) Wild goat standing left before tree: above,

an uncertain object [= degradation of a lion?].
[Form as 326.]
Bought in Egypt. (Chester Collection.)

319. Bulla (discoid): steatite: ·018. (Retains its original bronze pin in the bore.)
Obv. Bull moving left. Sprays above and before. *Rev.* Bull moving left above smaller quadruped. Sprays above and before. [Form as 326.]
Deve Huyuk.

320. Bulla: steatite: ·017.
Obv. Goat (or winged and crowned sphinx?) standing left. In the field above, a curved line with looped end and a stroke behind. *Rev.* Stag standing to left: above, a scorpion. Spray before, and fill-up strokes in the upper field. [Form as 326.]
Deve Huyuk.

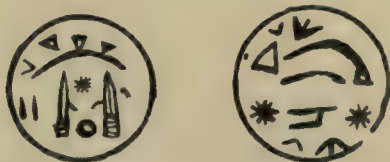
321. Bulla: red serpentine: ·020.
Obv. and Rev. Legends in Hittite script



A FIG. 40. B

within cuneiform borders (fig. 40 A, B).
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)

322. Bulla: grey limestone: ·025.
Obv. and Rev. Legends in Hittite script

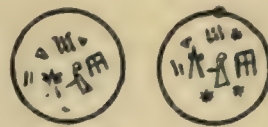


A FIG. 41. B

(fig. 41 A, B) within oblique ladder borders (C. I. H. ii, pl. 45, nos. 1-3).
Bought at Smyrna. (Chester Collection.)

323. Bulla: red serpentine: ·024.
Obv. Legend in Hittite script of decadent type within degraded cuneiform border. *Rev.* The same (broken away and not illustrated).
Tell Basher. (Bought at Aintab.)

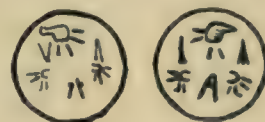
324. Bulla: red serpentine: ·013.
Obv. Legend in Hittite script within linear



A FIG. 42. B

border. *Rev.* The same legend (fig. 42 A, B) with two added stars within linear border.
Bought at Mumbidj.

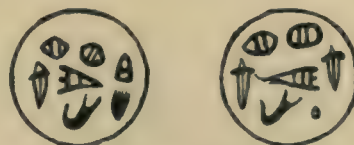
325. Bulla: red serpentine: ·015.
Obv. and Rev. Identical legends in Hittite



A FIG. 43. B

script (fig. 43 A, B). [Form as 317.]
Jebel Abu Gelgel.

326. Bulla (discoid): steatite: ·023.
Obv. and Rev. Legends in Hittite script



A FIG. 44. B

(fig. 44 A, B). On the obverse a linear border.
Konia district. (Bought at Smyrna.)

327. Bulla: steatite: ·032. (Loop-bored top and bottom and inscribed on one face only.)

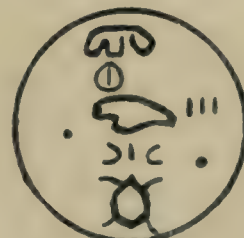
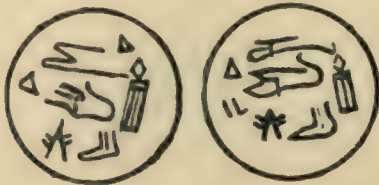


FIG. 45.

Legend in Hittite script (fig. 45). [Form as 326.]
Jebel Abu Gelgel.

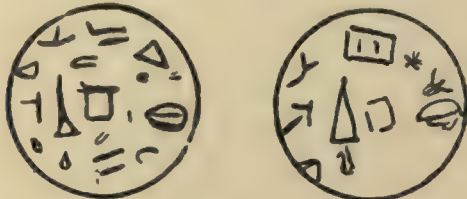
328. Bulla : steatite : ·022.



A FIG. 46. B

Obv. and Rev. Identical legends in Hittite script (fig. 46 A, B). [Form as 322.]
Bought at Aleppo.

329. Bulla : steatite : ·026.

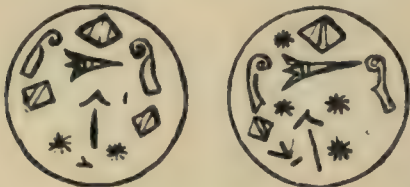


A FIG. 47. B

Rev. and Obv. Legends in Hittite script (fig. 47 A, B).
Kaisariyeh? (*Bought in Paris.*)

330. Bulla : steatite : ·024.

Obv. and Rev. Legends in Hittite script

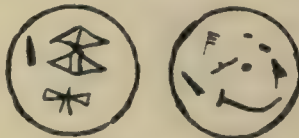


A FIG. 48. B

(fig. 48 A, B) within linear borders. [Form as 322.]
Deve Huyuk.

331. Bulla : steatite : ·017.

Obv. and Rev. Legends in Hittite script



A FIG. 49. B

(fig. 49 A, B) rudely engraved within linear borders. [Form as 322.]
Deve Huyuk.

332. Bulla : steatite : ·022.

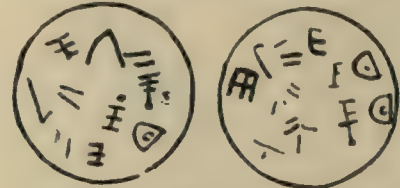
Obv. Symbols ? or script characters within degraded cuneiform border. *Rev.* Symbols or script characters within similar border. Much rubbed.

Bought at Tyre. (Chester Collection.)



333. Bulla : green steatite : ·022.

Obv. and Rev. Legends in Hittite script,



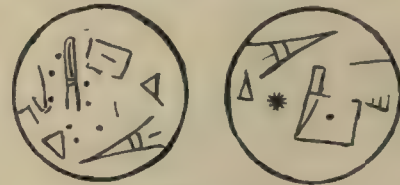
A FIG. 50. B

probably garbled, scratchily engraved and much rubbed (fig. 50 A, B). [Form as 323.]
Cappadocia? (*Bought in Paris.*)

334. Bulla : steatite : ·023.

Obv. and Rev. Legends in garbled Hittite script, scratchily engraved. [Form as 313.]
Jebel Abu Gelgel.

335. Bulla : greenish steatite : ·026.

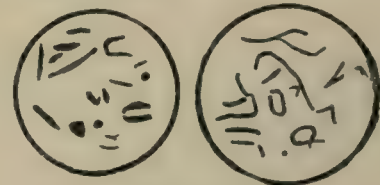


A FIG. 51. B

Obv. and Rev. Legends in garbled Hittite script (fig. 51 A, B). [Form as 329.]
Bought at Beirut. (Chester Collection.)

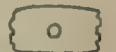
336. Bulla : steatite : ·023.

Obv. and Rev. Legends in garbled Hittite script (fig. 52 A, B).



A FIG. 52. B

Bought in Syria. (Chester Collection.)



CHAPTER III

THE ASHMOLEAN COLLECTION

PLATES I-X

I BEGAN to classify the Ashmolean glyptic collection by arranging on the criterion of Subject solely those objects which seemed to me Hittite of a period prior to the seventh century B.C. On testing the arrangement later on by the criteria of Material and Form, I found that no serious disturbance ensued—that is to say, no object made of the hardest stones had found its way into my earliest groups, and those handleless forms which morphologically should be prior to the handled, such as Gables and Hemispheroids, were collected mainly into my first two Classes with a small overflow only into the third. On the other hand, the bulk of the handled seals had fallen into the latter period of my Second and into my Third Classes, and the conoids and the scaraboids of sub-species *b* and *c* all into the Fourth. I feel, therefore, some confidence that my *Classes* represent a fairly sound chronological sequence; but I lay no stress on the order either of the *Groups* within the classes or of *Specimens* within the groups.

CLASS I

Group 1

The early seals, whose discovery in association with contemporary objects on Hittite soil is best attested, are two cylinders, nos. 1 and 2, excavated by natives at Hammam, an Arab hamlet on the Syrian bank of the Euphrates, east-north-east of Mumbidj, and two more, nos. 3 and 4, found at Kara Kusak, a hamlet of Kurds on the opposite Mesopotamian bank a short distance up-stream. The Hammam seals are said to have been found in two cist-graves: the Kara Kusak specimens (doubtfully) in one cist-grave. With the latter burial were found four vases; while from Hammam came a number of vases mostly similar to the Kara Kusak set, but of slightly earlier types. These are said to have been found with the two cylinders, and also in another cist-grave, which produced a third cylinder, no. 12. The Hammam villagers, however, could not say precisely which particular vases they had found in which grave. Further, certain beads of stone and glazed compost, pendants of shell, bronze implements, &c., were produced to us as having also been found with the first two of these burials, and these were assigned, item by item, to particular graves by the unanimous voices of several who had shared in their discovery.

Since details and illustrations of all these objects are given in C. L. Woolley's article, Hittite Burial Customs (*Liverpool Annals*, vol. vi, no. 3, pp. 90 ff., and plates *xxb*, *xxi*, *xxii*, *xxv*), it is not necessary to repeat particulars here. I shall only call attention to the fact that a peculiar lozenge type of bead—a distinctive element of the burial-furniture—not only repeats in its shape a decorative motive seen on one of the Kara Kusak cylinders, no. 3, but has been found elsewhere on Hittite soil engraved with a characteristically Hittite design. In the Ashmolean is such a bead of steatite (fig. 53), procured at Mezra, a village close to Tell Basher. The type occurs in Babylonian deposits.

Questions arise about these four seals owing to the following facts :

(1) Two of the Hammam cylinders (1, 2), the second bearing a legend in primitive but, apparently, garbled cuneiform characters, are of early Babylonian character and style, though they do not show typically Babylonian subjects. The same can be said of the Kara Kusak seals also (3, 4), but their subjects are less distinctive.

(2) The subjects of the two Hammam cylinders are derived from a Babylonian glyptic art which usually is dated not later than the end of the third millennium B.C.¹ The models of the two Kara Kusak cylinders can have been little, if at all, later.

(3) The pottery associated with all four cylinders, according to the finders' evidence, is of the type called by Mr. Woolley (loc. cit.) 'Middle Hittite'. This type succeeds the pottery found in the earliest Bronze Age cist-graves on the Citadel Mound of Carchemish, and continues without interruption, or any but slight change, down to the opening of the Syrian Cremation Age. The Hammam vases stand early in this series, the Kara Kusak ones somewhat later. All exhibit full development of the characteristic 'Middle Hittite' fabric and forms.

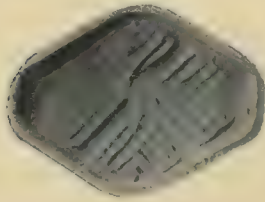


FIG. 53.

(4) All four seals are of materials rarely used in subsequent Hittite glyptic. One is in *bone*, and unique among cylinders of whatever family; two others are in *shell* and *sandstone* respectively; the fourth is of a translucent *green calcite*, other evidence for whose use by Hittite glyptists consists in not more than two or three specimens, all of rather dubious Hittite attribution.

It is possible, of course, that the native reports of the circumstances of discovery were not trustworthy. As Mr. Woolley records (loc. cit., p. 92), the Kara Kusak Kurds produced at least one incompatible object, a fragment of a bronze knee-fibula, as found with their cylinders. There may, therefore, have been either unconscious mistake or wilful mis-statement on the part of all the finders. But it is hard to believe that precisely the same mistake or effort of deception has been made in unison by inhabitants of two very remote hamlets, some distance apart on opposite sides of a great, swift and unfordable river, and that Arabs and Kurds alike should have had cylinders in their possession of the same rare sort, not found in their own neighbourhood. Of two difficulties, it seems to me the least to assume that these cylinders were really found in association with most of the objects described by Woolley.

The latter, thinking too great the gap in time between the style of these cylinders (especially 1, 2) as compared with known Babylonian seals, and the period represented by the associated pottery—similar fabrics are certified by the Carchemish strata to have continued in use down to at least 1200 B.C.—concluded that 'these seals are not, apparently, of local make, but are imported from Mesopotamia' (loc. cit., p. 93). But I submit that (a) Woolley has dated their Babylonian models unnecessarily early; (b) he has not allowed for the seals themselves being necessarily later than their models. Their materials, with the exception of shell, if rare in Syrian glyptic, are rare also in Mesopotamian, and that of one cylinder, bone, could hardly have borne a long transit or passage from hand to hand through the generations postulated by Woolley between the dates of production and of burial. Since all show subjects which in conception and even details (e.g. the hatched fill-up on no. 1) are not quite Babylonian, I incline on

¹ See C. L. Woolley, loc. cit., p. 93. Mr. L. W. King was inclined afterwards to modify the lower limit of date, which he stated to Mr. Woolley, and to think

it not impossible that the Babylonian models of these seals may have been made as late as 2000 B.C.

the whole to regard all four as local Syrian products of early 'Middle Hittite' art, made under the inspiration of Babylonian models of somewhat earlier time. If so, they indicate whence Syrian glyptic received an early, perhaps a first, inspiration, of which we ought to be able to find other evidence; and they prepare us for seeing in the cylinder the earliest Hittite seal-form.

About the meaning of the subjects of these four cylinders there is not much to say. The subject of 2 is of the familiar Babylonian 'crossed monsters' type with a god erect between the groups. The upright sword is the only unusual feature. That of 3 is conventionally decorative; that of 4 very ordinary Babylonian of the Lagash type. The subject of 1, however, is less usual. If it is a plough scene (cf. no. 20, different in style and composition), I have not been able to find its Babylonian prototype. Presumably the ploughman is divine—a god as giver of the fruits of the earth.

Perhaps, however, we must allow for glyptic derivations from Babylonia even earlier in date than those four seals. Such may be certain 'Communion' cylinders. No. 5 has been published by Sayce (*P. S. B. A.* xxxiii, p. 259, and pl. 51, 1) as Hittite and representing such a 'Communion' as the same author sees on a Marash relief, &c. (*P. S. B. A.* xxxii, p. 253, and xxviii, p. 95; cf. also A. Grenfell, *ibid.*, xxxii, p. 268 and pl. 42). In my Catalogue (p. 25) it will be seen that I differ from Sayce about one or two elements in the scene; but I have no opinion about the appropriateness of the term 'Communion' which he applies to it. An impression made by another seal of this type on a Cappadocian tablet-envelope now at Edinburgh has been published and commented on also by Sayce (*Babyloniaca*, iv. 2). Of the three specimens of such cylinders, which I illustrate on pl. 1, two, nos. 5 and 6, were procured, it will be noted, outside the Hittite area. I myself am unable to see in their subjects any features which might not be actually Babylonian, and I cannot subscribe to Sayce's opinion about the Edinburgh envelope, which would throw the beginnings of Hittite glyptic back to about the middle of the third millennium B.C. Even if the date of the envelope be as remote as Sayce maintains—i.e. the Dynasty of Ur—it remains more than doubtful whether (1) it is a Hittite, rather than a Mesopotamian colonial document (see p. 94), or (2) the glyptic imprints upon it are those of Hittite, rather than Mesopotamian seals. After repeated and careful scrutiny of the envelope itself in the Scottish National Museum, I am certain that the Hittite characters, believed by Professor Sayce to appear upon it (*P. S. B. A.* xxxv, p. 203, pl. 44), are, in reality, objects held in the hands of the figures, or symbols of usual Mesopotamian types in the field. If Professor Sayce's knowledge of things Hittite is unequalled, I must plead that I have, perhaps, devoted more special attention to seals, and that mine are younger eyes.

Group 2

Firmer ground is reached with seven cylinders, of which the first three, very Babylonian in character and style, are related to, but probably somewhat older than, a cylinder of polished black steatite (fig. 54) found in a cist-grave on the Citadel of Carchemish in association with ring-burnished 'Middle Hittite' ware of types a little subsequent to the Kara Kusak vases. The conception and arrangement of its subject are Babylonian, but the outline ('frame') heads show the eye more strongly marked than do the cylinders of our group 1. This cylinder will be published ultimately in the report of the Excavations, and I need only call attention here to its flat and abruptly relieved planes, and to the composition of its medial belt which recalls Kara Kusak 3

and is practically the same as the border on our shell cylinder 6. The British Museum possesses a cylinder (no. 562), which forms a link between the Carchemish cylinder and our no. 8. It shows a primitive rendering of the human form but, at the same time, bull-legs of naturalistic style and antelope-heads not of the earliest art. The flat plane and the striated body-spaces of the Carchemish cylinder are not present. Bull-legged demons or gods appear on Carchemish reliefs which should be of much later date; but in these the treatment of the human parts of the figures is very different. On this cylinder we have, doubtless, a scene of offering by demons to a paramount warrior-god.



FIG. 54.

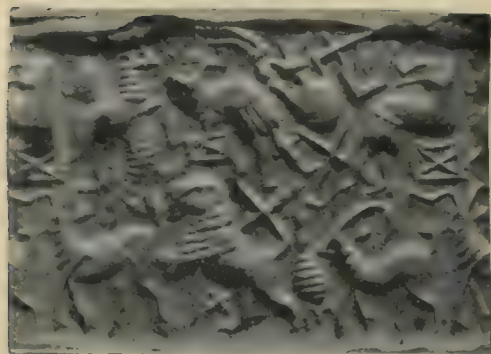


FIG. 55.

No. 9 is less distinctively Hittite, the arrangement and style being even more markedly of the Babylonian 'crossed monsters' type (cp. *Bibl. Nat. Cat.* no. 16, &c.), while the treatment of the human figures at the left end of each register is precisely that seen on such a possibly Babylonian seal as our 5. But the pigtailed figure in the lower register should be Hittite; while the treatment of the legs of the left-hand figure in that register and the flat striated body-surfaces of the animals are features of the Carchemish cylinder. The enclosed herring-bone borders are worth remarking as confirming Hittite ascription more certainly than does the arrangement of the subject in two registers, which is an early Babylonian scheme (cp. *Seal Cylinders*, nos. 112, 113, 117, &c.).

No. 10, with its indefinite outlines and striated body-surfaces, is again an imitation of Babylonian 'crossed-monsters' style. It should be noted how its beaked human heads resemble those on no. 1; but since none of these three cylinders reproduces the latter's 'hour-glass' bodies we may presume them of somewhat later date. If the Carchemish cylinder (fig. 54) represents a more formed local style than nos. 8, 9, 10, these should all fall quite easily in the First Age. With them should be compared another cylinder found at Carchemish, but not under dateable conditions (fig. 55), which supplies a link with such cylinders as our no. 5, and also no. 4.

Group 3

Four more seals should, perhaps, be placed in Class I in virtue of their 'frame' treatment of heads. No. 11 is in too bad a condition to be of much use to us. No. 12 shows ribbed or striated treatment of flat body-surfaces, and a spray-like fill-up mark (under the stag's belly) which is foreign to later Hittite glyptic, but recalls the cross-hatching in the field of no. 1. The puzzling object under the stag's extended forefoot resembles altars or tables as on no. 43, *infra*, q.v. An object probably identical is seen on a Morgan cylinder (no. 255) in front of the sphinx in the upper field. Hayes Ward (*ad loc.*) interprets it as a stand or pedestal; but it supports nothing. Both

12 and 13 show novel elements, no. 12 a doubled quatrefoil, and no. 13 a doubled coil. The former recalls designs shown on two cylinders published by Hayes Ward (*Seal Cylinders*, figs. 1044, 1045), on some in the British Museum collection (e.g. nos. 867, 873), and on one in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Bibl. Nat. Cat.* 55), which is classed as early Babylonian. Most of these (e.g. Brit. Mus. 873) are of the long two-zoned type usually regarded as of the Kassite era (see nos. 47, 48). Hayes Ward's suggestion that such quatrefoils are related to Middle Minoan art, rests on rather slight foundation, for, so far as I know, no design of the precise type of that on our no. 12 has been met with in Cretan decoration. At the same time the Middle Minoan Age was certainly contemporary with the production of this seal. It was found in the third Hammam grave (see Woolley, loc. cit.). Though somewhat later in style than 8, 9, 10, and reminiscent of a Babylonian manner subsequent to that which they copied, it may well belong to the actual period of the Hammam Burials. It is probably about contemporary with the Carchemish cylinder, fig. 54.

No. 13 I assign very doubtfully to this first class. It represents a primitive stage of art, but one which, except for the 'frame' head, is not represented by any seal so far considered; the curious appendages to the right-hand curves of the coil compare with certain seals in Class II. No. 14 is also included doubtfully, since its early characteristics are discounted by the contour lines round the body forms and the naturalistic treatment of legs, which compares with that of nos. 100 ff., but is, nevertheless, not more developed than on no. 8.

CLASS II A

Group 1

The distinguishing feature of this class as a whole lies in the gradual development of an individual style, differentiated from the Babylonian style of Class I, and becoming more local and 'Hittite'. In the first group, composed of five cylinders whose subjects are very much alike in conception—a male human figure, probably a god, driving or chasing beasts—this differentiation is embryonic, but none the less already real. These cylinders show such features as a native art beginning to escape from alien trammels might be expected to show—primitive, but original. Head-forms are of the simplest art, that of 'snow-man' terra-cottas—little more than beaked knobs and hardly different in men and beasts. Human bodies are of 'hour-glass' type like those on no. 1, and legs virtually the same in form whether human or bestial. A desire to fill up a vacuum is exemplified by the inversion of one beast on no. 15, the elongation of necks and tails on all, and the treatment of antlers on no. 16. While these 'hour-glass' body forms, as well as the ribbed treatment of surfaces, have been borrowed from early Babylonian art, no Babylonian or other seals within my knowledge display a style which could possibly be mistaken for that of any of the five here published. I take them to attest an early Syrian effort to develop an independent glyptic art.

Group 2

I place next three cylinders which show primitive features similar to those of group 1, but are slightly more advanced in the conception, composition, and style of their subjects.

No. 20, a ploughing scene (cp. no. 1), shows relation to the preceding group not only in its human and animal forms but in the treatment of the larger ox's horns

(cp. 17, 18) and in the inversion of one ox to fill up the field (cp. 15); but it shows also more life and vigour than the seals of group 1.

No. 21 is remarkable for the depth of its intaglio and for cuneiform incision. The subject, besides its general stylistic resemblance to that of the preceding seal, repeats particular elements; e.g. the object before the adorant's feet should be compared with that behind the ploughman's head on 20. The wedge-shaped pyramidal marks which appear on this seal we shall find presently as a very common fill-up device characteristic of Class II.

About no. 22 I feel less certain. It differs somewhat in style from the preceding and shows an element unique, so far as I know, in primitive Hittite seal-subjects, the double-headed eagle, borrowed from the early Babylonian symbolism of Lagash; while the Adad type of god, erect in combative attitude on a bull (?), also appears for the first time. But in conception and composition, as well as in manner of graving, it is too like 21 to be placed in any other group.

No. 23 I place here at hazard. If it did not come from Tell Basher, I should not include it in the series at all; and even as it is, its characteristics, so far as they can be compared at all with any other of our seals, relegate it, perhaps, rather to Class II (cp. nos. 50 and 51). Possibly it is rather provincial Babylonian than Hittite.

Group 3. Loop-bore Cylinders and Cognates

For the distinction of this group Form and Local Origin can be invoked as well as Subject. Loop-bore cylinders (see p. 18) are so rare, and seem to come so exclusively from central North Syria (four out of our six were traced to Tell Basher), that, presumably, they were produced during a very short period, and by few and nearly related hands. Their morphological peculiarity may have been due to a local preference for suspending seals upon the person vertically rather than horizontally, so that (as with almost all stamp-seals) the subject should hang right way up; or even to mere disinclination or inability of a particular seal-maker, or small group of makers, to sink bores more than a few millimetres deep. As regards *local origin*, it may be that not only our four, but all known specimens, have come from the district immediately round Tell Basher. With the exception of a fifth specimen procured by Mr. Greville Chester in a part of North Syria undefined in his notes, all other specimens known to me have appeared in Aleppo, with which city Tell Basher is connected by a much-used line of caravan traffic. In 1914 M. Poche of Aleppo possessed about half a dozen loop-bore cylinders, of only one of which, however, I have been able to obtain an impression, which I illustrate later (fig. 58), for purposes of comparison. Besides his and ours, I have found only one other specimen—a cylinder in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Bibl. Nat. Cat.* no. 519, 'cylindre non percé'). Its subject is of the same type as our no. 24.

Turning to our specimens, we meet first a subject (no. 24) which should be compared with the designs on two cylinders in the Cabinet des Médailles (nos. 504, 519), the second of which would suggest that the principal element in the subject of our cylinder is a stylized horned head and not an ear-handled vase (cp. Delaporte, *Bibl. Nat. Cat.* no. 504), were it not for a cylinder in the British Museum (no. 1211). This indicates a *vase* to be the almost certain interpretation, the 'ears' in that subject being true ring-handles and not in the least like animal-horns (fig. 56). Mrs. Alice Grenfell, who published our no. 24 in *P. S. B. A.* xxxii, p. 268, pl. 42. 1, put forward yet another suggestion, viz. that the 'ears' are really *tubes* derived from those familiar in so-called

'communion' scenes. But though the ear-handle interpretation is not free from difficulty and does not quite account for the tangents connecting with the vase-body (see our nos. 30, 31, 32), the British Museum cylinder seems to establish it. This latter cylinder, it will be observed, repeats also the 'tassels'¹ of our no. 24 and of the Cabinet des Médailles cylinder no. 504. The curious objects at the end of the rows, which will recur on nos. 31, 32, and are evidently intended for squatting figures (perhaps seated goddesses; cp. the third panel of the British Museum cylinder), remind us of the objects projecting from the coil on no. 13. These last may be degradations of the squatting figure type; and if so, no. 13, as I have already suggested, should be later than the Class I period and be brought down into Class II.

No. 25, with its roughly conceived and executed subject expressed by drill-holes, which have not subsequently been linked or worked over with another tool, is closely connected with the preceding Loop-bore. One element in its subject, a vase, departs, indeed, from the type characteristic of nos. 25, 30, 31, 32; but another British Museum cylinder (no. 89653, fig. 59), of pink limestone, not loop-bored but of thick squat form, while showing in one panel designs analogous to the subject of no. 24, links our no. 25 to the latter by displaying in its other two panels the same kind of drilled designs.

We are justified in bringing also into this group (on the same comparative evidence) three species of glyptic objects whose relations have hitherto been uncertain. These are (1) cylinders divided into panels or facets by longitudinal grooves like our 34; (2) numerous squat cylinders, often with concave barrels and generally of pink marble or limestone, which bear similar drilled designs, e.g. our 33. Since a loop-bore cylinder of white marble in the collection of M. Poche at Aleppo is of this concave-barrelled type, connexion with the loop-bores admits of no doubt; (3) stone objects in the form of couched beasts which are usually engraved on their bases with similar arrangements of drill-holes; cp. those in fig. 57. Found in most museums, they are perhaps *weights*,² belonging to the early Hittite metric system of North Syria. Hayes Ward, discussing the drill-marked cylinders of squat form or with concave-sided barrels (*Seal*



FIG. 56.



FIG. 57.

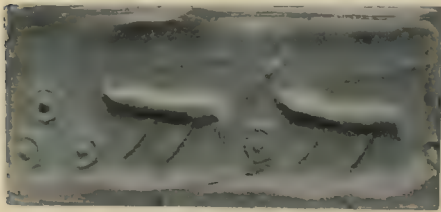
¹ A Hittite script character has this 'tasselled' form.

² The two in the Ashmolean Collection figured above are in good preservation and have lost very little substance. They were in the Chester Collection, and are stated to come from Beirut (fig. 57 A) and Persia (fig. 57 B). Their present weights, 32.172 and 22.52 grammes respectively, do not satisfactorily fall under any one metrical standard. The first represents four shekels (Bab. light gold standard, unit 8.4) and agrees

with a third object in the form of a couched calf, acquired in 1919, which weighs 32.65 and has a goat and scorpion in the style of our nos. 69, 70 engraved on the base. In this connexion it may be mentioned that I have weighed a great number of handleless Stamp-seals—Gables and Hemispheroids—but the results do not suggest their having been weights. They adjust themselves to no known weight-standards.

Cylinders, p. 183, figs. 501 ff.), was unable to assign them with any confidence to either a place of origin or a period; but the combined evidence of our Loop-bores 24, 25, with that of the British Museum cylinder figured above, appears to me to fix both their locality and their date.

No. 26 introduces bull's-eye circlets which look as if they had been made with a tubular drill. Their number, seven, corresponding to the familiar Mesopotamian scheme of the Igigi stars, the 'libra' below them, and the fish-like symbol above the larger quadruped, are evidence that Babylonian influence was still active in the Hittite area. The style of the two beasts, particularly their leg-forms and action, and the elongated muzzle of the smaller one, should be noticed for future comparison. In the Poche Collection at Aleppo I saw two loop-bore cylinders of steatite with the same sort of bull's-eye decoration as on our no. 26. The subject of one, together with the design engraved on its unbored end, is illustrated in fig. 58. The other shows no beasts, but simply sixteen bull's-eye circlets disposed over a field which is crossed by a zigzag line. This cylinder has four bull's-eye circlets on each butt-end (even on that



A FIG. 58.



B

into which the loop-bore is sunk), making twenty-four such circlets in all on the whole seal. The bull's-eye circlet, hitherto regarded as a characteristically Cypriote element of glyptic decoration, is thus seen to be equally characteristic of North Syrian glyptic in the Loop-bore period; and it may reasonably be inferred that this period and that of the Cypriote

'geometric' cylinders are not far apart. Whether the bull's-eye circlet originated in Syria or Cyprus, or independently in both, we can hardly guess at present.

The bird-like heads and unjointed hoofless legs of the stags on no. 27 would, in any case, proclaim this seal comparatively early. All the 'fill-up' marks, both the pyramidal or cuneiform strokes below the stags and the horizontal antler-like sprays above (the last seen also on 26), are early, something like this type of spray having appeared already on the Hammam cylinder no. 1. No. 28 shows a geometric scheme which goes back to an early Babylonian type (cp. the Kara Kusak seal, no. 3); but the pyramidal mark now enters into the design as a main element. Even so conventional a design may have religious significance. The rhomb or bisected lozenge (or, as Hayes Ward suggests, *Seal Cylinders*, p. 410, an eye; or, again, as others have thought, the *pudendum muliebre*), which is the chief element on this seal and on no. 3, is a familiar divine symbol in later Mesopotamian, and especially in Syrian, glyptic. This is the only loop-bore cylinder known to me which is not of squat thick shape, its diameter being rather less than two-thirds of the length. A steatite cylinder in the British Museum (no. 102633), showing a similar design, has about the same proportions.

No. 29 deserves attention. It recalls, by some of its features (e.g. the bull's horns), the first group of this class; by others (e.g. the scorpion), cylinders of the type of no. 31. But at the same time it introduces new features, which will become familiar presently, e.g. a globular human head, a jointless and hoofless animal's leg with slight forward curve, and a one-winged bird in flight. If the stroke under the belly of the second quadruped is intended to represent the virile member, it is a feature rarely expressed, and anticipates representations on nos. 69, 70. The subject may be mere *genre*, and should be compared with those of nos. 1 and 21, and, indeed, of all the cylinders in group 1. Possibly, however, all these express religious symbolism.

On no. 30 the bold semi-naturalistic treatment of scorpions and the decorative stylization of the vases, whose ear-handles meet below, are features worth attention, as is also the reversibility of the design on no. 31. No. 32 is more carelessly engraved, and the scorpions are less realistically represented, having eight legs apiece. The scorpion, according to authorities quoted by Hayes Ward (*Seal Cylinders*, p. 405), is connected with the Kassite goddess, Iskhara. It is a frequent element in Syrian glyptic subjects, as we shall see, and, if symbolic of fertility, an appropriate amulitic emblem.

No. 33 is an example of the concave-barrelled cylinders described above. As for no. 34, the British Museum collection possesses another cylinder (no. 89653) of precisely similar form and type (fig. 59). About the inclusion of no. 35 in this group, though it is of the squat, thick form, it would not have been possible to feel sure, but for the fact that its subject is repeated on a cylinder in the British Museum (no. 938, 89516), which, while showing in two registers radiate or horned pellets enclosed by double linear frames, is of the same material and concave-barrelled form as our no. 33.

No. 36 is one of those 'Thick Cylinders with Shrines and Animals' treated by Hayes Ward in *Seal Cylinders*, chap. xxxii, and sometimes supposed to have been official seals of temples. Mr. Ward, though he deals with cylinders of the types represented by our no. 36 and our no. 33 in one chapter, expresses (p. 183) a doubt of the reality of their relation. But in view of the identical arrangement of drill-marks on both these particular cylinders, I feel no hesitation in including no. 36 and all its kind, dispersed through various collections, among seals produced in the Syrian Hittite area during the 'Loop-bore Period', although good authorities, e.g. Heuzey and Babelon, have held them to be early Babylonian.¹ The precise part of the area, however, cannot be fixed yet. The marble commonly used not only for this type of cylinder, but also for the type of no. 33, is rarely, if ever, the material of seals of ascertained Commagenian or Cappadocian provenance; whereas, at all periods, it appears in Central Syrian glyptic. Possibly Ezaz, near Aleppo, where no. 36 was said to have been found, is not far from the actual locality of the quarry. No. 37 belongs by form and material to the same group as 36, and even recalls earlier seals by several of its features, e.g. the human head-form (cp. no. 10), the eye-lozenges (cp. no. 3), and even the developed heavy treatment of human limbs (cp. the Carchemish cylinder, fig. 54). The bows are of a very strange form, to which I know no parallel. I see, however, no reason to suspect the genuineness of this cylinder.

No. 38 needs little comment. Comparison with no. 26 offers justification for its inclusion in this group. As for 39, its conventionalized design, composed of a bisected double lozenge or eye and a scorpion-like tail, relates it to such as nos. 3, 37, &c., and even to no. 30; in form, it is of the squat early type. The resemblance between the action of the beasts on nos. 40, 41, and those on no. 26, is my only warrant for placing these two cylinders here. But while the reversible no. 40 may well be not much later than no. 26, the more elaborate subject of no. 41, and especially the treatment of human forms, constituting it a link with cylinder subjects of Class III, suggest that it should be ranked no earlier than the very end of the period of Class II. In conception it owes obviously more than most seals in this class to Babylonia.



FIG. 59.

¹ De Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. xxx, 1. Babelon uses a seal of this type, from the Le Clercq Collection, as an example of early technique (*La*

Gravure en Pierres Fines, p. 25, fig. 2); but see p. 23, *supra*.

I am not sure of the propriety of including no. 42. By the manner of its graving it reminds us of the third group of Class I, and it shows also early Babylonian features in the sideways position of the stag as well as the ribbed or striated treatment of its body (cp. e.g. *Seal Cylinders*, nos. 112, 113, 117, &c.); but it is not, in general style, very like any seal considered hitherto. If, indeed, it should come here, then so also should no. 43, on account of similar treatment of the beast's head.

I have doubted whether to place no. 44 here or at the very head of the class. The Babylonian crossed-beast scheme, the beaked type of human head, the rudely formed human legs, the four-point fill-up stroke, and especially the graving, which looks as though done not with a drill or even a point but with chisels, suggest a very early date. But, on the other hand, the animal-bodies, legs, and heads belong to a more learned art than do the loop-bore cylinders. The lion, for example, is more realistically represented, although the antelope's head and horns find their nearest parallels on no. 29. The style in general reminds me more of the Eyuk Gate reliefs than does that of any other Hittite object in our collection except the tabloid no. 307. About no. 45, of ascertained North Syrian provenance, I feel still more doubtful. It shows more advanced engraving than no. 43, and its animal forms are not of an archaic type. The sun-star in the centre of the scene invites comparison equally with such an early quatrefoil as appears on no. 12 and with later types of enclosed sun-stars. On the whole, perhaps, this seal is to be regarded as of much the same period and local art as no. 44, which it resembles in material and form.

Nos. 46, 47 have this in common, that their designs do not detach themselves completely from the ground plane of the intaglio; but they have little obvious relation with any other seals in the Hittite series. No. 47 (I cannot explain its subject), with its great disproportion of length to diameter and its enclosed quatrefoil, looks like a variant of the type of long Kassite(?) cylinders illustrated by Hayes Ward in *Seal Cylinders*, p. 326. As another possible example of the same type I include 48, but remark that, while its triangular or pyramidal fill-up elements are characteristic of this class, we shall find no parallel to its festoon till we reach Class III. The design should be compared with that on a cylinder in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Bibl. Nat. Cat.* no. 422).

The subject of no. 49 is conceived and executed in the loop-bore manner, and since the cylinder itself is of the early squat form, we need not doubt that it should be included in this group.

CLASS II B

Group I

I include in this division those stamp-seals which appear to me to belong to the same period as the cylinders in Class II A. The subject of no. 50, for example, does not differ in its head-forms from the first group, and its 'flipper' arm-forms show no advance in art; but there is somewhat more life about the attitudes. The four-point fill-up mark between the figures should be noted. No. 51 shows a similar scheme in a different style, resembling, in the treatment of head-forms, cylinder no. 23.

No. 52, a very rude form of stalk, compares closely with such seals as no. 34 (q.v.), while no. 53 is sufficiently nearly related in manner of graving to nos. 25 and 33 and the cognates cited in connexion with these seals, to be placed here. The affinity of the bull's-eye circlets on no. 54 to those on nos. 26 and 38 is obvious.

No. 55 owes its place to comparison of a loop-bore cylinder in the Cabinet des Médailles (no. 504, cited above), which shows a barred oval object, similar to that appearing here under the beast's belly. Compare also one of M. Poche's loop-bore cylinders (fig. 60), which is obviously related to the Carchemish cylinder shown in fig. 54. No. 56 shows a scorpion treated more naturalistically than do our cylinders nos. 30, 31, but with something of the same flatness. It may belong, however, to a rather later period.

Nos. 57, 58, curiously suggestive of early Cretan pictographic seals, are very like one another in style of graving, and are related to no. 42 and its cognates by the vase (?) on no. 57. No. 58, it will be observed, is reversible, a common feature of Hittite stamp-seals. The scorpions on both these last specimens are very primitive representations.

Nos. 59, 60, 61, 62, judged by their style of graving, should fall into this group. There is little else whereby to place them. The treatment of the legs with long projecting hoofs, on no. 59, is that which we have seen on no. 29 and shall see in several other subjects presently. No. 61 should, perhaps, come a little later in our series. No. 62 introduces those cruciform patterns, with fill-up elements between the arms, which are familiar designs on a very numerous group of Hittite seals to be considered presently.

I place here the gable no. 63, on account of the resemblance of its pedimental design to that on no. 36, though the lower part of the subject represents not a shrine, but the familiar Babylonian 'Gates of the Sun God'. As for the gable no. 64, the drill-pellets in the upper part of its design and the square frame-like arrangement of the lower parts offer some clue to its date by reminding us of no. 25 and its cognates, and also of no. 35.



FIG. 60.

Group 2

Next after the above seals, which can all be related more or less directly to the loop-bore cylinders, I consider a few handleless stamps of the gable and hemispheroidal shapes, which have independent features, indicative of early period. No. 65, for example, has a very primitive form of the four-point fill-up mark already observed on no. 50. In its subject, and also in those of 66, 67, should be noted the unnaturalistic rendering of horns, one being set on the neck. The exaggerated forward projection of the hoofs we have seen already on no. 59. Both 65 and 66 show also cuneiform or pyramidal fill-up strokes, and 66 the 'wish-bone' chevron; these are characteristic elements of Class II subjects. The triangular-headed serpents on 67, 68 (I have never seen a serpent of this type on any other Hittite seal) constitute a sufficient link between the two.

No. 69 shows the leg- and foot-forms of 65, as also the elongation of body and horns which is prompted by *horror vacui*; at the same time greater realism in the rendering of the animal's head stamps 69 as the later of the two. No. 70, like the preceding, is one of the few Hittite seals on which the virile member is emphasized. The head-form is primitive; the decorative disposition of the horn recalls no. 16, and the rarely seen snake (though without triangular head), nos. 67, 68. But in leg-forms and general pose the stag on 70 is somewhat more realistic than the beasts shown on these seals.

Nos. 71, 72, 73, the last of unusual form (probably, however, not a distinct type but a reduction of a hemispheroid), are engraved in primitive fashion with, apparently, the point only. The small quadruped on the right of 71 repeats a feature of 68, and the

fill-up of 72 is of characteristic Class II sort. No. 74 is point and chisel work. Its pyramidal or cuneiform fill-up elements are sufficient warrant of its place; the human head is treated as on the earliest Class II seals.

Nos. 75, 76 show rather more developed treatment of subjects similar to those of nos. 65, 66: the style of the beast on 76 recalls no. 36 and its fill-up elements are of unusual type, anticipated on 20. No. 77 is a design on the same scheme as nos. 50, 51, but of rather later (though ruder) style. No. 78 might be of almost any period; a Gable in the Cabinet des Médailles (M. 2789) offers a close parallel. No. 79 is too low in the art-scale to be placed with any certainty. No. 80 obviously belongs to the same art as the cylinders nos. 49, 46.

Nos. 81, 82, both reversible, should probably come here, the incision of no. 82, in particular, being 'cuneiform' chisel work characteristic of the earlier Class II glyptic. Nos. 83, 84, 85, 86 all bear conventionalized subjects of early appearance, those on the last three seals being reversible. It is important for the question of the local origin of forms to note that a hemispheroid with a subject very similar in style to our nos. 83, 84, was procured by Chantre at Eyuk Aladja (op. cit., p. 160, fig. 136). As for no. 87, its cuneiform incisions and chevron fill-up element place it here; and nos. 88, 89 are too like no. 86 in style to be far removed from it in date.

Group 3

We now come to a numerous and distinctive group of Gables whose subjects are beasts shown either singly or in file and sometimes in 'shorthand'. In the earlier specimens of this group, e.g. nos. 90, 91, 92, appears again that unanatomical representation of the horns of antelopes and goats already noticed on nos. 65, &c.,

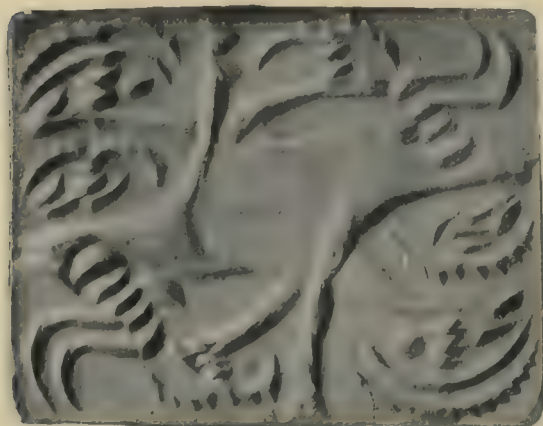


FIG. 61.

as well as a primitive rendering of body by a mere line. The leg-, foot-, and head-forms, however, are more advanced than on those seals. Fill-up elements, mostly chevrons, constitute a link with the loop-bore group. A later stage of development is marked by a tendency to represent beasts by artistic shorthand. It begins to show itself in no. 91, and emerges conspicuously in nos. 94, 95, and, with a difference, in nos. 104, 105. The most remarkable example of its result is offered by a large steatite gable, with reversible subject, in the British Museum (no. 102465) (fig. 61), which should be compared with our no. 101. Equally significant of artistic decline is another tendency, illustrated by nos. 97, 104, 107, 109, and especially 110, as well as by the British Museum gable, fig. 61. Their subject-types have all begun to suffer more or less disintegration which will eventually lead to their schemes breaking up altogether into meaningless strokes (cp. e.g. nos. 121, 122, 123).

A gradual development of body-forms from a rudimentary linear rendering to something like naturalism may be followed through the beasts represented on nos. 90, 91, 92, to 101, in which last subject the over-emphasis of the quarters and contours of the body is reminiscent of metallurgic style. Certain of these seals, e.g. nos. 102, 103, suggest that the Egyptian art of the New Kingdom had begun to influence Hittite glyptic. As to the period of all, the fill-up elements in their subjects argue that, though

they show an advance in style on the loop-bore cylinders, they are not to be dated very much later. At the same time it must be admitted that the only gable of this subject-type, found so far by a scientific excavator under dateable conditions, does not support this general dating (say twelfth century). This is one excavated by Garstang in the Jobba mound at Sakjegeuzi.¹ Finding it about ten centimetres above the pavement of what he regards as a ninth-century portico, Garstang dates its *loss* about 800 B.C. But on the other hand (a) its subject, so far as one can judge from the rubbing published, is a very late example of the style; (b) the date of its *loss* may have been long subsequent to the date of its manufacture; (c) it is not clear that the pavement in question is so late as the ninth century. In chap. iv I argue, independently of this seal's evidence, for at least a century higher in dating the style represented by these Portico sculptures.

No. 111 is distinguished by conception, style, and technique from all other members of this group, in which, indeed, perhaps it ought not, strictly speaking, to be included at all. The rude conception of the scene is not unlike that of Loop and Stud subjects, such as nos. 141 ff., and the style has some affinity to the same group, especially to that of the Copenhagen seal cited on p. 63. But the herring-boning and cross-hatching of body-spaces should be compared with no. 139, and the human figure in the upper field, as well as the general style, are paralleled most closely, to my knowledge, by a hemispheroid, of almost scaraboid form, in our Collection, which I figure here (fig. 62), rather than in the main series, since I feel some doubts about its genuineness, and by a strange steatite cylinder (fig. 63), which for various reasons I regard as South Syrian Hittite. It bears a garbled Aramaic legend (see Mordtmann, *Z. D. M. G.* xxxii). It came to the Ashmolean from the Greg Collection as having been bought originally in Syria. It is worth notice that our no. 111 was procured, not in the Hittite area, but at Beirut. If complete, it would be the largest gable which has yet come to light.



FIG. 62.



FIG. 63.

Group 4

I add some stamp-seals which seem to belong to the same general period of art as group 2 but, in certain instances, exhibit decadent editions of the subject-schemes of seals already considered, and are therefore, probably, to be referred to the latter part of their period. Nos. 112, 113 are among the earliest of the group; they show the flat planes and contoured body-forms of the more primitive Class II style.

The series of conventionalized antelope figures shown on nos. 114 to 120 calls for no comment beyond the remark that nos. 118, 119, which display the best technique and the most realistic style, are, perhaps, the latest in time. But it should be observed that the antelope on 118 has the leg- and foot-forms of nos. 65 ff., while that on 119 has one horn set on the neck as on those same early seals. No. 120 is obviously intended to be reversible, as is also no. 121, engraved with 'cuneiform' incision. Nos. 122, 123 present merely conventional (perhaps broken-up) types of subject, and are intended to have sphragistic significance only.

Group 5

Nos. 124 to 131 are stamp-seals of early shapes engraved with conventional designs, related (cp. especially 124) to no. 62.

¹ *Liverpool Annals*, 1908, pl. 49, no. 3, and p. 107.

Group 6

I pass on to two groups, about each of which, for different reasons, I feel doubt. The first consists of certain carinated hemispheroids which have slightly convex faces. The subjects of all are distinguished from those of other Hittite seals. Three (nos. 132, 133, 134) show cut-off animal heads in profile (or, stylized scorpions?); a fourth, 135, an animal head to front; a fifth, 136, a deep-cut spiral. The first three should obviously be grouped together. They were all procured outside the Hittite area, one, no. 133, as far west as Smyrna. In view of this fact, and of their slight convexity of face (see p. 19), it appears possible that they belong to Aegean, and not Hittite glyptic. At the same time, the treatment of the antelope on 133 is Hittite, and a gable in the British Museum (no. 102660, fig. 64), procured at Tell Basher, and a stud in white marble (no. 618, fig. 65), should be compared with it. No. 135 has certainly an Aegean look; but its subject-scheme and fill-up marks are such as might be expected in Syrian seals just after the loop-bore cylinder period (cp. the 'geometric' conventional designs on nos. 126 ff.). No. 136 is unique. The spiral is not to be expected in Hittite glyptic till a period subsequent to the probable date of a seal of this shape; whereas it made a much earlier appearance in Aegean art.



FIG. 64.



FIG. 65.



FIG. 66.

But the well-ascertained provenance of this specimen, from an inland Syro-Hittite region, deters me from making the same suggestion about it as about nos. 132-5.

In connexion with this group I illustrate here the subject on a steatite scaraboid in the Ashmolean Collection (fig. 66), akin in form to the type described on p. 19 as 'rudimentary'. It was procured in Aleppo, and I have had doubts of its genuineness. But the form of the Hittite pictograph seen at the right-hand end of the upper register seems too rare and at the same time correct a feature to have been introduced by a forger (cp. our nos. 251 and 324). The 'tree' shown in the upper register is of a debased type, and the seal is, doubtless, altogether later than those in this group. I cite it here, however, because it shows subject elements similar to those on 132, 133, 134 engraved on a typically Syrian seal-form. It therefore discounts the possibility of these seals being really Aegean specimens.

Group 7

My doubt about the other group, consisting of a gable and two scaraboids of the 'rudimentary' species, concerns its place in our series. The peculiar hook-like treatment of paws, which is the distinguishing feature of this group, recalls certain reliefs (e.g. at Carchemish) whose period is uncertain, but possibly earlier than is to be assigned to any other Syrian sculptures. The other features exhibited by these three seals, however, indicate the latter part of the period of Class II. The flat plane, the contoured outline, and the over-emphasized distinction of the hind-quarters of the lion on 137, belong to the same school of art as no. 101; while the fill-up elements on 138, 139, the style of the antelope on 138, and the square head of the lion on 139 (cp. no. 44),

are all in accord with that period. The ass-head on no. 137 is important, for it has all the appearance of a pictograph familiar in Hittite relieved texts. If, then, this seal is of Class II, it is the earliest to exhibit a Hittite script character.

Group 8

Two handled shapes, which, though morphologically more developed than the 'Stalks', were invented, I believe, not later than the close of the Class II period, remain to be considered. These are *Loops* and *Studs*, which have heads of various shapes, under which it is convenient to distinguish them. Though I admit certain specimens here into Class II, it should be observed that those shapes had a long later history; for certain specimens (e.g. nos. 203 ff.) are assignable even to Class IV.

Among *circular* headed specimens I select no. 140 as shown to be of comparatively early date by the resemblance between its style and that of such cylinders as nos. 26, 40, 41. Among *trilateral* specimens, no. 141 is related, by the style of the horse and also by its four-point fill-up element, to the preceding.

The *lunate* head-shape is a rare variety. Both the Ashmolean lunate-headed specimens are loops and have an early look. No. 142 recalls early seals, not only by its flat plane and contoured forms, but by the beaked type of human head and the style of the bird (cp. the loop-bore cylinder, no. 29). This seal suggests Aegean influence in the contorted attitude of the human figure which is similar to attitudes of animals on Cretan circular seal-stones. The motive of the contortion, however, might produce similar results independently: for it is nothing more than a desire to adapt the subject to the shape of the field. No. 143, of rude execution, presents a primitive version of the *πόρνια θηρῶν* subject. The lunate form is not necessarily early. The British Museum possesses an engraved amulet of this shape in red serpentine (fig. 67 A, B), presenting elements of decoration (e.g. especially on the lower part of the obverse face) which undoubtedly are of Class III period (cp. no. 191 *infra*, and p. 88).



A FIG. 67. B



FIG. 68.

Of the three *trifoliate* Ashmolean specimens, all of which rank here, the two *Studs* have an earlier appearance than the *Loop*, no. 144, which, in execution, is rather rude than primitive. No. 146, however, reminds us, by both its technique and its fill-up elements, of characteristic Class II seals. A trifoliate *Stud* in the British Museum (no. 24962: fig. 68) approaches its style, while reminding us also of the lunate seal no. 142. The Copenhagen seal (of rare *quatrefoliate* shape), published by Furtwängler (*Myken. Vasen. Text*, pl. E, no. 40, and p. 77), is also of this style, but the work of either a better or a later artist. Bought in Beirut, it was said to be from Homs. Furtwängler recognized its Hittite character and discredited the Phoenician letters supposed by Müller to be engraved on it. These are, of course, ordinary Hittite fill-up elements. For the griffin type on these seals, see Furtwängler in Roscher, *Lex.*, art. *Gryps*.

The arrangement of the subject on no. 145—an element occupying each leaf and a fourth element forming the centre-piece—is repeated on a fine trifoliate specimen in the Louvre (A. M. 442), which shows a griffin, a lion, and a goat disposed round a central

six-rayed star. Its technique and style are advanced, resembling those of certain stamps included below under Class III (nos. 204 and 205)—a further proof that Loops and Studs should not be regarded as earlier than the middle of Class II period. Among *quadrilateral* shapes, no. 147 offers by way of subject a broken-up degradation. Though engraved in a manner reminiscent of nos. 25, 33, 52, &c., it is probably later work. No. 148 introduces a 'standing over' attitude used to express rapid animal motion. This is repeated on no. 149. The abundance of fill-up elements on both seals stamps them as of Class II, even without the evidence of the human head type represented on 149, and the general resemblance which the beasts on this last seal bear to those on the loop-bore cylinder illustrated in fig. 60. The subject of no. 148 may be an archer-god on a bull—an Adad type; or it may be mere *genre*—a hunter pursuing the bull. The subject of no. 149 is certainly a hunting scene.

CLASS III A

This class, as a whole, exhibits subject-schemes more elaborately conceived and executed than those of Class II. Fresh influences operating from alien centres of art, both east and west, must have been largely responsible for the rapid artistic advance, which the series, as arranged on pl. vi, illustrates.

Group I

To represent the transition, I place first a cylinder, no. 150, whose style has its roots in Class II. It hails from Jebel Abu Gelgel, south of Mumbidj. Noteworthy features of the subjects of seals in this style (cp. later specimens, nos. 157, 158) are a sketchy, summary treatment of the human head maintained in all stages of the development; the presence of broad-bladed spears carried point downwards; a bird with one wing raised as in flight, and the simple loin-cloth costume of men.

Of these features the head-treatment is a slight development of the earliest Class II manner: and a bird was represented not dissimilarly on the Stud no. 141. Indeed, on the latter seal, the style of the horse also so far anticipates that of the griffin on no. 150 that there can be little doubt these two subjects are not far apart in date, and that no. 150 might as well be included in Class II as in Class III.

No. 151 is, again, on the border-line between Classes II and III. While the beasts represented on it bear a stylistic resemblance to those on no. 49, the figure of the goddess and the elaborate subject-scheme are of later date than the loop-bore cylinders. The treatment of hands is singular and, like that of the beasts' horns, not early. This version of the *πότνια θηρῶν* idea is interesting.

Headed by an elaborate cylinder from Jebel Abu Gelgel, a group follows which develops a distinctively Hattic style, under increasing Assyrian influence, and falls definitely into Class III. On no. 152, the human face is treated at last with some approach to realism, and while birds remain of stylized type, the animal figures in the main register are treated, despite smallness of scale, with surprisingly naturalistic vigour. The eight cut-off heads in the intermediate register are noteworthy for their long noses and the treatment of the crowns. If we had only this cylinder to judge by, we should certainly suppose the heads to be uncovered; and although other representations of heads, e.g. on an often-published British Museum cylinder (fig. 69), or on one in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Bibl. Nat. Cat.* no. 280), suggest either a cap or a feather head-dress


(cp. no. 154), such as are known to have been worn by some Mediterranean peoples, more or less contemporary, and by Arabian warriors depicted on Assyrian monuments of the Second Empire. The treatment on other seals, e.g. our nos. 153, 160, 161, 168, &c., does not suggest anything but natural hair. Finally I call attention to the medial belt. Composed of a rope and bordered herring-bone pattern, it may be thought to anticipate in more realistic form the rope-pattern which, stylized as a loose coil, will become familiar as a decorative element both on seals and amulets, and also, at a certain period, on larger Hittite monuments. On the other hand, since the stylized guilloche appeared long before this in Babylonian art (cp. De Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pl. 25 bis, 3), it may have been taken over ready made from a realistic rope design into the Syrian Hittite art, without any such local development.

No. 153 is, in many respects, similar to no. 152, but of somewhat later style. The subject is more symmetrically balanced and its inspiration is more markedly Babylonian; but the birds and the treatment of all the human heads are those of the two preceding seals. The elaborate arrangement of 'sacred tree', surmounted by disk and crescent, flanked by birds, and having canopies pendent from its stem, is derived from Mesopotamian art of no very early period. This cylinder can hardly be earlier than the Third Age (p. 10).

No. 154 has a unique subject, some elements in which may be intended for script-characters—e.g. the goat's head and the uppermost symbol in the left-hand column, with which an object like a carpenter's square shown between two pairs of beasts in the lowest frieze of no. 152 invites comparison. A not uncommon



FIG. 69.

character in Hittite texts which takes the form  is perhaps the same. The columnar arrangement of the elements is suggestive of a text; but, at the same time, the other objects represented in the panel—viz. five cut-off human heads of three types, two conventionalized hands, a bird and a fish-like object or a pigtail(?), two hares, and a seated ibex—do not resemble at all closely any known Hittite script-characters. Of the human heads, one is of a type seen already on no. 152, and another, represented to front with horns, bull's ears, and spreading beard, appears on several reliefs of bull-gods at Carchemish. The conventionalized hands recall the sixteen cut-off hands in the lowest register of the large Carchemish inscribed slab (*Brit. Mus. Carchemish*, i, pl. A, 1 a), which also, it will be observed, shows human heads, though not of our types. The three human heads in the left-hand column must be compared with those on no. 152 and described in the same way. Besides the obliquely hatched border, which we shall meet again on seals of this period, the erection on the left, on which birds are perched, should be noticed. It has the appearance of being wattle-work, and may be compared with wattled beast-pens represented on Babylonian cylinders (cp., e.g., *Seal Cylinders*, no. 391); but our example, with its bird attributes, should be a shrine or an altar.

No. 155 repeats, in its festoon, the type of medial band seen on no. 152, but in degradation. The style is very much the same as that of a seal in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Bibl. Nat. Cat.* no. 422) and of studs like no. 141. The peculiar 'hippocamp' lions, which flank the squatting figure, will be repeated on no. 161.

No. 156 shows a medial band of bordered rope of much the same type as that on

no. 155, and birds and beasts so far analogous with those on other members of this group that the human figure, despite its primitive head form, does not avail to date it earlier than them. The sword with crescent hilt is of a type familiar on Carchemish sculptures of the Third Age.

No. 157 shows birds of an intermediate type which is beginning to break up. No. 158, which looks distinctly later than no. 150, offers evidence of strong Assyrian influence, not only in the general conception and composition of its subject, but also in a particular element, the winged figure, which is not uncommon on Hittite cylinders (cp., e.g., *Seal Cylinders*, nos. 892, 893). Non-Assyrian features, however, are the semi-nude figure and the cut-off head. No. 159, though much perished, seems to represent a final development of the style. Its scratchy technique is almost worthy of the Cremation Age (Class IV); but a tripartite treatment of the human head marks it as distinctly earlier than that age. This treatment has been developed from that shown on nos. 23 and 51 (cp. also animal-heads on nos. 42, 43), and is in the manner of seals, certainly of fairly early Class III period, cited below in connexion with no. 211.

No. 160, while repeating the treatment of human heads characteristic of this group and also cut-off heads, human and animal, introduces a feature suggestive of still later date. This is the long Babylonian mantle worn on ceremonial occasions over a Hittite warrior's loin-cloth or tunic. In accord with the Third Age is the highly stylized arrangement of the secondary group, which is like that on no. 158, but without the coil-band.

The other elements in the subject of no. 161—the bird, the hare, and the *libra*, for example—are as suitable to the group we are considering as the 'hippocamp' lions already noticed in connexion with no. 155. The general style, however, and the treatment of the human and bestial figures are of quite as late a Babylonian style as any element on 158 or 159. A singular feature is seen in the foreparts of ibexes combined to make something like a column-capital of Persian type. A Babylonian cylinder of Middle Empire (?) date, published in *Seal Cylinders* (no. 415), shows two griffins similarly combined to form the support of a divine figure. The *ashera* (or, possibly, sacred tree), with its bud-like upper member surmounted by a palmette, is not unlike an Egyptian *dad*.

The cross-legged (dancing?) figure on no. 162 justifies its inclusion in a Hittite series, despite its Mesopotamian look. Its birds are of the same general type as on preceding seals, but their more developed style, as well as the conventional arrangement of the whole secondary group, and the degraded character of the coil-band, stamp this seal as of the Third Age.

I add 163 to the group on no better evidence than its herring-bone belt (cp. no. 155). This crane-like type of bird will appear again on no. 170.

No. 164 presents a figure clad in exactly such a cloak, open in front, as is worn by a well-known divine figure on the right-hand wall at Yasili Kaia, as well as by figures at Eyuk. Its subject as a whole is conceived and expressed in the Yasili Kaia style. Despite bad condition, the two main figures stand out unmistakably Cappadocian, and the fact that the warrior god holds the lightning trident goes far to prove the defaced object in the hand of the god leading the left-hand procession at Yasili Kaia to be the same. The altar before him in our seal recalls the Fraktin relief, though its cross-like finial and flanking objects are novelties. The latter are not satisfactorily explained as bows, and I suspect they are intended to be parts of the altar itself, which would thus have something of the form of a *crux ansata*. The triangular objects (probably symbols

of life) above will be seen above a *crux ansata* on no. 89. Whatever the date of the Yasili Kaia reliefs may be, the same is more or less the date of this cylinder (see p. 71).

The next two cylinders, nos. 165, 166, show in full development the sphragistic style best known as Hittite. The subjects of seals in this style are religious—the adoration of deities. This sometimes involves, as on both our specimens, the presentation of a divine, semi-divine, or human being to a divinity by a figure, sometimes represented (e.g. no. 166) as *janifrons*. Hayes Ward calls him a ‘psychopomp’ (*Seal Cylinders*, chap. xlvi), mainly on the evidence of a well-known cylinder from Aidin (in the Louvre) and one in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Bibl. Nat. Cat.* no. 525); but, in fact, there is little in the other elements of these two subjects to suggest the ‘Under-world’. It should be observed that, while our seals show developed technique and certain Assyrian or, rather, Mesopotamian, features, e.g. elaborately trimmed and fringed mantles, and (on no. 159) hair turned up in Chaldaean fashion, they show also features connecting them with previous members of this class—e.g. the dancing attitude of a figure on no. 165 (cp. 153, 162). The general style of 165 in particular is obviously related closely to that of 152.

Nos. 167, 168, though their subject-schemes are similar, differ in their style and details. The forms of the chariot-bodies indicate a heavy war-car on 167 and a light domestic vehicle on 168. The number of spokes in the wheel of the first is four, of the second, six (the usual Assyrian number). Yokes appear in one representation only, and headstall-crests only in the other; the dress of the marching figures on no. 167 is a waist-cloth, while on 168 it is drawers. The cut-off hand under the horses on one seal is an interesting artistic reduction—a part symbolizing the whole figure shown on the other seal. A hand of similar style appears on a Hittite cylinder in the Morgan Collection (no. 226), but as a symbol in the field. The isolated objects in the upper field of no. 167 are replaced on no. 168 by a two-strand coil transferred from its usual position as a lower border. The distinction of these two seals is, perhaps, partly due to the different character of the scenes, no. 168 showing a triumphal procession after war, whereas no. 167 shows actual battle. But I think it is due also to difference of date. On all grounds of style and composition I am inclined to regard 167, which is not far removed from nos. 165, 166, as the earlier of the two; but the interval should not be long, the graving technique shown on the two seals being very similar. Both must be of much the same period as the Chariot-slabs of Carchemish and Sindjerli, which have coil-borders; but no. 167 is probably earlier than any slabs of this class which have so far been discovered. In any case its inspiration comes from Assyrian art. For future comparison the modelling of the horses’ heads on no. 167 should be noted. Two seals in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Bibl. Nat. Cat.* nos. 479, 480) show similar subject-schemes executed in a more primitive style, but they differ from our two in that, apparently, they represent divine, not human, principals.

Group 2

Nos. 169, 170, 171, 172 introduce a nude goddess standing to front, like the Mesopotamian Zirbanit, who is supposed by Hayes Ward and others to have been originally a Syrian deity named Ishara. She appears on no. 170 with fish attributes; and a crane-like bird, such as is often associated with the Nature Goddess, both in east and west, is also present. The lines pendent from her waist, on nos. 169, 170, represent edges of a skirt withdrawn to expose her nudity, and may have given rise to those lines, falling from the elbows of the Ephesian Goddess in many numismatic representations, which

have never been satisfactorily explained (see British Museum, *Excav. at Ephesus*, p. 331, pl. 52). While these four seals are markedly Babylonian in character, the style of the birds and human figures, the treatment of the latter's dress, and the sprays, all combine to group our no. 169 (for example) with such seals as no. 160; also the long mantle of the king (?) is like that shown on no. 164. Such stylistic reductions as those of the goddess's robe and the seated ibex preclude an earlier date.

As for no. 171, it presents features less distinctively Hittite; but the kneeling figure in the secondary group leaves little doubt about its inclusion (if it be genuine). The ape-like figure between the adorant and goddess has been seen already on no. 152. No. 172 has one feature in its subject worthy of remark—while as Mesopotamian in character as the rest, it shows a *crux ansata* of pure Egyptian type. All these 'Nude Goddess' seals testify to an art of the *Mischkultur* kind.

Out of the style of nos. 165, 166 developed a type of cylinder which, though it is the most usual representative of Hittite glyptic in public and private collections, happens not to be represented in the Ashmolean, except by specimens like no. 172, which have somewhat uncommon features. I therefore append an illustration of a typical specimen in the British Museum Collection (fig. 70; others may be studied in *Bibl. Nat. Cat.* nos. 461, 492, &c.).

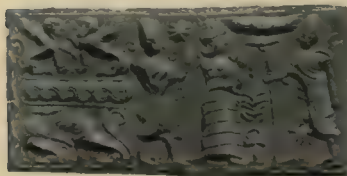


FIG. 70.

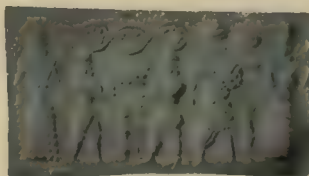


FIG. 71.

Characteristic features are the presence of figures in both Mesopotamian and Hittite dress; the appearance of Egyptizing elements (e.g. the *ankh*); and the invariable addition of a severely formalized secondary group.

This style passes again into a facile glyptic manner which is represented by our nos. 173, 174, 175, 176. It is characterized by dry imitative style, indebted

mainly to Assyria, by still more rigid conventionalism, and by clever but rather soulless execution. The principal figures now wear Mesopotamian rather than Hittite dress, and in pose and accessories follow Assyrian models very closely. There is usually a secondary scene of strictly formalized character, divided into two groups by a coil-band of either two or three strands. No. 175 illustrates earlier traditions in its treatment of the bird and the dress of the goddess, and in the lituus borne by the adorant (as on no. 176 also), which is assimilated to the well-known sickle of Marduk. For comparison I append an illustration (fig. 71) of a remarkable cylinder in the British Museum (no. 102686), procured by myself in 1908 at Tell Ghaneim (near Amarna) in the southern part of the Carchemish plain. *Pointillé* treatment of body-spaces, robes, &c., is seen on certain early Babylonian seals (e.g. *Bibl. Nat. Cat.* no. 3); but I know none on which it is carried out in quite this 'nail-head' manner. The enriched spiral-band (compare Morgan cylinder no. 241) is only less remarkable than the goddess-type posed full front, holding lily wands in the Egyptian manner. These lilies are so familiar an Aegean motive and so unlike anything known to me in Syrian or Mesopotamian art, that, combined with the spiral, they lead me to suggest Cyprus or some other Aegean land as the source of this cylinder. At the same time it must be admitted that a goddess to front, with hands similarly posed, though not holding lily wands, appears on an inscribed *stela* brought from Carchemish to the British Museum in 1881 (*Carch. I*, p. 5, fig. 3, and p. 10). It would have been interesting to compare her (missing) head with the head of the goddess on the Tell Ghaneim cylinder.

No. 174 is placed here conjecturally; but, together with no. 173 (whose inclusion

is suggested by the file of three small figures in the upper part of the secondary scene), it may belong to Class IV. No. 177 also is placed here with hesitation, its style being, in some respects, more like that of the earliest 'compost' cylinder-group in Class IV; but the head-dresses of the attendant and sphinx should be compared with that of a sphinx on no. 182, while the representation of human feet is very near that of no. 174.

Group 3

With no. 178 we reach a small group of cylinders remarkable for a delicacy, an excessive refinement, of graving unlike any other Hittite glyptic work known to me. With all its fineness of line, however, it expresses the subjects with much economy of detail, and even sketchily. Our earliest example should be no. 178, which shows a presentation to a rain-god, typified by the spouting vase held in his hand—a common Babylonian but very rare Hittite scene. The rigid conventionalism of the composition, and the markedly Egyptizing features (e.g. *cruces ansatae* of true Egyptian form) of 171, argue no earlier date than is to be assigned to no. 175 and its cognates. I suspect these three cylinders of being not true Hittite work. No. 178, which was procured in Phoenicia, displays archaic features, such as a 'frame' head set on a pole (cp. no. 154), and primitive treatment of the other human heads, combined with rigid formalism; it seems to me just such an archaistic imitation of a Hittite scheme as might be expected from a Cilician or a Phoenician workshop. A seal in much the same style in the Cabinet des Médailles, however, is catalogued by Delaporte as Hittite (*Bibl. Nat. Cat.* no. 424).

No. 179 is the most eclectic of the three. The ear of corn in the hand of the left-hand figure, and the support of the nude goddess by a bull, are variants of Mesopotamian usage (cp. *Morgan Cylinders*, no. 237) due to an imitator. Recalling the fact that the god of Ivriz holds ears of corn, one is inclined to suggest Cilicia as the place where this seal was engraved. The Neith-like figure, crowned with crescent and disk, is, obviously, not true Egyptian. The secondary scene is a Hittite scheme, rigidly formalized, with the Egyptian *crux ansata* introduced.

No. 180 is emphatically more Mesopotamian than Egyptian, but still it is far from true Babylonian. The squat proportions of the god on the bull again indicate a copyist. On the whole I feel no doubt that none of these cylinders was engraved either in the Cappadocian or the Syrian Hittite area; and among regions likely to have produced them, I incline to Cilicia, but will say more on the subject presently.

Group 4

Next comes an equally small group, distinguished by opulence of style, which is related to that of the preceding group, but different in execution.

No. 181, a famous seal, often published, calls for two or three remarks. (a) Its inscription is in southern, not northern, cuneiform. (b) There occur in its column of Hittite symbols not only a *crux ansata* of the typically Hittite form (see p. 74) but a beast's head with protruded tongue, which is executed in a peculiar style paralleled, to my knowledge, only by a symbol on a seal of Anatolian provenance (fig. 79, *infra*). The oblong below this is singular in Hittite symbolism, but may be intended for the (usually) ingot-shaped symbol seen on, e.g., no. 177. Below the *crux ansata* is the triangle or cap seen on no. 164. It should be remarked that three out of these four

elements are symbols rather than script-characters, and one is never found as a script-character. It is, therefore, exceedingly improbable that this column of symbols makes a text. At most it could only represent a single name. Indeed, the view that this cylinder is a bilingual is now not generally held. (c) The graving of the subject is less definite and emphatic than in other Hittite glyptic work of such fine style. (d) The heavily bordered mantle worn by both figures, and especially by the right-hand one, who seems to be a god receiving a prince, is seen again on no. 182 (cp. also *Morgan Cylinders*, no. 230). It should be noted that it envelopes one arm of the wearer. P. Jensen (*Grundlagen*, p. 337) has suggested that this cylinder, which was procured in Cilicia, is Cypriote; but it is too Hittite for Cyprus.

No. 182, of unknown provenance, shows the same quality of style, but more precise graving. Its subject is unusually eclectic, since Babylonian, Egyptian, and Hittite elements are present in about equal proportion; but the non-Hittite elements are obviously imitative, i.e. not proper to the culture which produced the seal. The 'Hathor' head, for example, is contaminated with a Mesopotamian type (see *Seal Cylinders*, p. 404; and *Morgan Cylinders*, p. 113, where Hayes Ward definitely calls the head that of the goddess Belit or Nirkharshag); and the captive, who is being presented by the mace-bearing prince, was modelled by no Egyptian artist. The deity in horned cap is also a derivative variation, but of a Mesopotamian prototype. In the secondary scene the head-dress of the male(?) sphinx is derived from the Egyptian head-gear with frontal *uraeus*. The belted skirts or cloaks of the lowest figures have been seen already on the winged demon of no. 158; and the daisy-like rosettes we shall meet again very soon. I suspect that the *Mischkultur*, responsible for this cylinder, as for no. 181, was Cilician. The scene is too Hittite in conception, and the graving and style are too unlike the Egyptian to be reasonably ascribed to a Phoenician artist; while, at the same time, too much is of Egyptian derivation for the seal to be from any but a coastal district of the Levant.

No. 183 is almost identical with a cylinder figured by Hayes Ward (*Seal Cylinders*, no. 1086), the only difference between the two designs being that one of our lions carries his tail low. The existence of what is almost a replica might arouse suspicion; but the repetition of types with slight variations is to be expected in sigillistic art (cp. the Zakro sealings from East Crete, *Journ. Hell. Studies*, xxii, p. 91). Humped oxen appear on a cylinder in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Bibl. Nat. Cat.* no. 461), and on one in the Morgan Collection (no. 228). The fine style of our lions is not unlike that of a beautifully engraved haematite Hammer-head in the British Museum (no. 1027) shown in fig. 72. Of equally fine minuscule execution are a seal in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Bibl. Nat. Cat.* no. 418), and one in the Louvre (A. M. 431), which shows a hare within a three-strand coil. Our no. 183 is the only seal known to me which shows a coil of *four* strands clearly defined.



FIG. 72.

Group 5

Finally, there remains to be considered a small group of cylinders which exhibit subjects suggestive of Aegean influence. Three are very finely engraved, in a manner akin to that of the preceding group, while the fourth, less well engraved, is, perhaps, of later (Class IV) period.

No. 184, whose subject is unique in its panelled arrangement, has analogies with preceding seals, both in general style and details; e.g. the groups in the panels *a* and *d*

are to be compared with the uppermost group of the secondary subject on our no. 166 ; the daisy-rosettes in panel *c* with those on our no. 182 ; and the rendering of the two divine figures in panels *b* and *c* with that of our 152 (and, conspicuously, with the human star-design on a Louvre seal quoted *infra*, p. 75). This cylinder (genuine?) was said by its Smyrniote vendor to have come from Kos. It seems not to be either Late Aegean or Early Ionian work : it is not Cypriote in either most of its details or its style ; but the art which produced the sphinxes in panels *e* and *f* is not unrelated to Cyprian art (cp. ivory sphinx-relief from Enkomi, Brit. Mus., *Excav. in Cyprus*, pl. ii, 1126). The indications seem to designate some Mediterranean coast-land (e.g. Cilicia) which was in touch alike with the Hittite area, with Cyprus, and with the Syro-Mesopotamian and Syro-Egyptian art-province (see Chapter IV, p. 98).

Nos. 185, 186 show subject-schemes alike in their conception and in their very fine technique and style, but differing slightly in execution. Both remind one irresistibly of Cretan art. Nothing could be more suggestive of the Late Minoan style of the Vaphio Cups or of a steatite filler-vase from Hagia Triada than the *galop volant*, represented on both these cylinders, and their vigorous realism. The subject of no. 185, it should be observed, in which lions both attack and are attacked, illustrates a sympathy with both combatants, rare in early artists, but exemplified on a well-known ivory casket in the British Museum from Enkomi, Cyprus, which is usually ascribed to the Latest Minoan or even post-Minoan art. At the same time certain details indicate close relation with preceding seals ; e.g. on no. 185, the griffin-lion group recalls 164, 184, and the pseudo-Hathor head is of the same type as that on no. 182. But it should be noted, on the other hand, that the *crux ansata* is not the fully developed form of no. 181, but nearer the true Egyptian. On no. 186, the daisy-rosette repeats those on nos. 152, 184, and the palm is as on no. 166. I know no other Hittite cylinder on which coil-bands are disposed in this detached fashion (though their use in the borders of Semi-bullae, e.g. nos. 309, 311, 312, *infra*, is analogous). One would say an eclectic artist, not brought up in the true Hittite glyptic tradition, was here making random use of a Hittite decorative element. Though both these cylinders were acquired in inland Syria, they must have either come up from the Levant coast or been made by an engraver who had experienced the influence of Late Aegean art. In this case, again, I suggest Cilicia as the source.

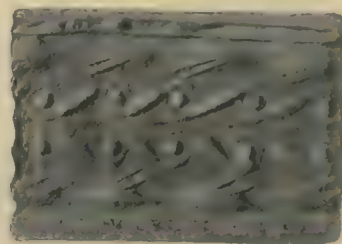


FIG. 73.

As for no. 187, it should be compared with certain cylinders from Cyprus (e.g. Brit. Mus., *Excav. in Cyprus*, pl. iv, no. 466, and one in the Ashmolean here illustrated, fig. 73), which are in compost and of early Class IV period. It has the Late Minoan returning spiral, degraded to a scheme of concentric circlets linked by tangents, which is here combined with the Mesopotamian linked lozenge motive (cp. our no. 28). Cilicia would be a very natural home for such an artistic mixture.

As for the relative chronology of cylinders in the different groups which I here allocate to Class III A, I should regard nos. 150 and 151 as the eldest and date them to the early thirteenth century. Next to them come nos. 152, 153, 154, 156. To the middle and latter part of the century I should assign such as nos. 164, 165, 166. All the rest I believe are later—such cylinders as nos. 167, 168 falling, probably, early in the Third Age, whose chief glyptic content is supplied by such as nos. 169–177. These are representatives of a numerous species, whose best examples may be judged by the cylinder in fig. 70. The last three groups, containing nos. 178–187, are a puzzle, but

I have no doubt that nos. 178, 181-3, are relatively earlier than the rest, and that nos. 185, 186 must have been engraved when the tradition of Cretan art was still fresh in the Levant, i.e. not much later than 1100 B.C.

CLASS III B

As in Class II, I put Stamp-seals apart in a sub-class on grounds of convenience, not chronology.

Group 1

No. 188 is the first of the claw-handled Tripods to appear in our series. I take the figure to be that of a deity. The shape of the mantle is not quite clear, but no other shape suits the indications so well as that of a cloak of the Yasili Kaia type, flapping loosely with the motion of the figure. If, however (as is possible, but not probable), a hood is intended to be represented, the figure is female (compare hooded attendants of the goddess on Carchemish reliefs), and the 'cloak' will be a feminine short mantle worn over a longer skirt open in front.

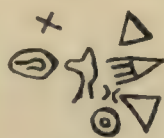


FIG. 74.

I believe it, however, to be a masculine cloak of the type worn by the figure on the Tarkhu-timme 'boss', with whose subject that of our no. 188 has other analogies.

In other respects this tripod, with allowance made for modification of style by a metal medium, conforms generally to the type of cylinders 164, 165, 166, and also of those, not represented in the Ashmolean, which are illustrated by fig. 70.

I add three tripod seals, nos. 189, 190, 191, because their form does not permit of their being dissociated from no. 188.

The simple 'ladder' border on no. 189 makes a rare appearance on a Hittite seal. Possibly it is a degenerate rendering of such borders of wedges as appear on a Berlin silver seal of the same form (Meyer, *Chetiter*, p. 45, fig. 35), and also (mixed with decorative elements) on our no. 194, *infra*. If looked at closely, the tangents of the border on no. 189 will be seen to be in part semi-cuneiform, whether by design or accident.¹ I cannot explain, on the concave reverse of this seal-face, the presence of the script-characters which are illustrated in fig. 74, unless the head has served some other purpose, before being turned, and has been re-engraved on its former reverse and fitted with a claw-handle, soldered on to the former obverse (see Catalogue for details). But I own that the double inscription leaves me doubtful of the genuineness of the seal, despite the unimpeachable correctness and precision of the characters on the present obverse.

No. 190 raises no suspicion. No. 191 is interesting by reason of its Cypriote provenance, its decorative borders (fig. 106, *infra*), and the peculiar form of its head. I shall discuss the significance of these borders and their local origin later on when dealing with the Semi-bullae (p. 88). As for the head-form (it precludes a satisfactory photograph being taken of the impression, and accordingly I give on pl. vii a view of as much of the original as can be seen at once), it is of such excessive convexity, that this tripod can hardly have been used for a sphragistic purpose. It may have been an amulet.

¹ A *bullā* in the Louvre (A. M. 418) has a border more distinctly cuneiform, but tending to become of the 'ladder' type. Also our cylinder no. 40 has

a medial band of much the same design, but rather zigzag than cuneiform.

The only other tripod seals known to me, and not yet mentioned, are one in the British Museum (no. 102475), to which I shall refer later, and one at Brussels (Musées du Cinquantenaire), of base silver, bearing an inscription in the style of our no. 189.

If I am right in including in this group the two knob seals, 192, 193, on the ground of a stylistic resemblance between the hare's head on the latter and the horse-heads on no. 167, and a less marked resemblance between these and the eagle-heads on 192, they serve to date a considerable number of knob seals with circular heads, which show double-headed eagles of exactly the same style as our no. 192 within similar triple and obliquely hatched borders (e.g. Louvre, A. M. 438 and 437). Others, also (e.g. Louvre, A. M. 445), which exhibit the same type of border, but a different device within it, may safely be included.

The provenance of our nos. 192, 193 is worthy of attention. Both hail from Asia Minor, and probably originally from Cappadocia. Since the double-headed eagle appears conspicuously both at Eyuk and Yasili Kaia, and not on any known Syrian monument, it is possible that an eagle thus displayed, whether with one or two heads, is sufficient to prove the northern origin of a Hittite seal. At the same time it must be remembered that this type certainly goes back ultimately to a southern source, the eagle of Tell Lo, represented on the 'Vulture Stela' (as on our no. 193), with a hare held in its talons. The duplication of the eagle-head is due to the same punctilious instinct which, in such scenes as that on 166, has given the introducer two faces. The eagle, as an apotropaic agent, must look to both right and left. The lituus-like object projecting from the back of the eagle's head on 193 appears on 192 under both wings of the bird. In the latter case it is evidently the coil often seen hanging on both sides below the winged disk in Syrian art (cp. a broken relief at Carchemish, fig. 75); it was derived from the *uraei* which dangled from the Egyptian disk (see *Seal Cylinders*, p. 396).¹ It is, therefore, not a *lituus*, nor of any particular symbolic significance, and its transference to the head to form a crest implies that it had already become a conventional appendage no longer understood. At the same time its presence is an interesting indication of relation between these eagle-types and the winged disk, and of the solar character of the former.

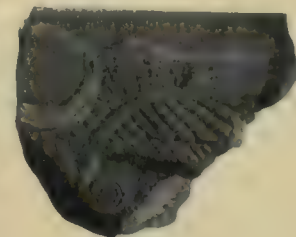





FIG. 75.

No. 195, the most splendid Hittite ring yet found, is difficult to place, since its subject is exceptional and we are not in a position to say how much its style has been modified by the metallic medium. But, as it is, the style suggests a place in the class which contains the fine 'hammer' seals, quoted on p. 75, *infra*. One detail of treatment, the lion-paws, anticipates a later seal, the quadrilateral stud, no. 211; and this peculiar type of two-headed sphinx occurs on reliefs both at Carchemish and at Sindjerli.

No. 196, which introduces the most elaborate of all the Handled shapes, the 'Hammer', must be treated by itself, not only because of its special interest, but because, though the triple coils on its base and the subject-schemes relate it to other members of this class, it differs somewhat in style from all, and shows many details of particular interest. Noteworthy among the latter are the altar-forms and the head-gear of gods and goddesses, which, like their tip-tilted shoes, are more characteristic of the north than the south of the Hittite area. On the other hand the trident lightning symbol; the *crux ansata* with transverse in the shape of a double axe and with human legs; the eagle-headed demons; the goat held by its four feet in a god's hand; and

the particular type of winged disk—these are features characteristic of the southern area, which derived them now from Mesopotamia, now from Egypt. The style has a certain precision reminiscent rather of the Eyük slabs than of Syro-Hittite sculptures. This evidence suggests a geographical source midway between the north and the south of the Hittite area—a source likely to have produced fine work in a somewhat individual style. I incline to believe that Tarsus, whence Greville Chester actually procured this seal, was not far from its actual place of origin, i.e. it is Cilician.

On the five scenes I offer these remarks : (a) The seated goddess and her adorant wear the same head-dress; since the latter bears a trident of peculiar form, probably a lightning symbol, he also ought to be a deity, and is probably the same god as on no. 164. If so, the two figures will be the Mother and the Son of the right-hand procession at Yasili Kaia. The object held in the goddess's right hand recalls a rare pictograph which has this form,  as seen on a broken stela at Carchemish; but I cannot say what it represents.  If the wavy part of the stalk on our seal is not intended to be joined to what  is above, the object is perhaps an ear of corn, or a pedestal, like those decorated with circlets, by which Babylonian deities and kings are sometimes supported.

(b) God and adorant have the same head-dress. Horned mitres in Mesopotamian art indicate divinities. Therefore the adorant is probably a god. The hawk above a trident (the more usual form of the lightning symbol) reminds us of a frequent attribute of the Ephesian Goddess (*The Archaic Artemisia*, p. 336).



FIG. 76.

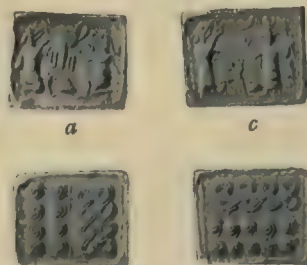


FIG. 77. a b c d

(c) The goddess wears a square mitre over which a hood is drawn forward, as in some Carchemish reliefs. Her sheaf of arrows reminds us of the later Greek thunderbolts which appear on a bronze seal with ring-handle, procured at Aleppo and now in the Ashmolean

(fig. 76). The winged disk makes an early appearance here: it has, however, perhaps, occurred already on a cylinder (no. 36), and will occur frequently in later Hittite art (cp., e.g., our no. 219). The altar is of the form, known on other monuments, which suggests the lower part of a draped figure, especially if, as at Fraktin, it is ribbed spirally. The trident above is as in scene *a*. The *cruces ansatae* (capped) are of a shape seen on no. 164, and typical of southern Hittite symbolism. A two-legged form of the *ankh* is seen on a small squat cylinder in the Ashmolean Collection, procured by Greville Chester at Ephesus, but of Egyptian type and published as Early Dynastic by Sayce (*P. S. B. A.* xx, p. 98, fig. 11). The *ankh* there, however, has not this axe-like traverse. I am not certain of the 'ear of corn' under the hand of the eagle-demon. A similar figure on the British Museum seal, in fig. 77, holds its hand in the same position with some object in it or under it which is not quite clear, but looks more like a *crux ansata* than an ear of corn.

(d) Goddess and adorant wear different head-dresses, but the latter is virtually identical with the adorant in scene *a*.

(e) The altar is of a well-known Hittite type, seen, e.g., at Fraktin and on the British Museum seal illustrated in fig. 78.

With no. 196 must be classed certain very fine stamp-seals in other collections, notably: (1) British Museum, no. 2551 (fig. 77), haematite, of the same form as our

no. 196 (except that the head is octohedral), and engraved not on the base but on four side faces. It shows some features suggestive of a rather later date than our 196, e.g. returning spirals of Late Aegean type, as well as coils like those on a Berlin cylinder (Meyer, *Chetiter*, p. 50, fig. 41), more summary execution and less careful style in the figure-scenes. The *janifrons* figure on face *c* serves to confirm a connexion between this species of seal and cylinders of the type of our no. 166; while the eagle-headed demons, *cruces ansatae*, and coils leave the British Museum's seal's relation to our no. 196 in no doubt.

(2) Louvre, no. A. M. 422, haematite, of the same form as no. 196 and engraved on five faces in a style nearer to that of the British Museum specimen.

(3) British Museum no. 17804, a hammer in haematite with cylindrical base, engraved on the bottom only (fig. 78); said to have come from Yuzgat in Cappadocia.

(4) Hammer in haematite with circular base (diam. .032), engraved on the bottom only. Said to have been first seen at Aidin in Lydia. It was published as long ago as 1889 by Perrot and Chipiez (*Histoire de l'Art*, &c., iv, p. 773, and vignette at end of chap. 5—a drawing from a very poor impression). It has lately been in my hands, and I append a photograph of the impression then made (fig. 79). This seal is obviously very closely related to that in fig. 78.

(5) Cabinet des Médailles (*Bibl. Nat. Cat.* no. 649).

(6) Louvre, A. O. 3755, base silver, with circular face and domed back; handleless and engraved on the base. The subject has been published by Messerschmidt, C. I. H. pl. 44, no. 3. Its style is practically identical with that of our no. 196.

There are a number of other fine hammers and knobs of this style and period, especially in the Paris and Berlin collections. I shall have occasion to cite two or three of them later on. The massive heads of the circular seals vary in form, some being true cylinders, others cylindrical with incurved sides, others cylindrical but tapering upwards like truncated conoids. The most remarkable example of the last form is one in the Louvre (A. M. 427), whose broken base shows a star formed of nude human bodies from the waist upwards, the style being very like that of our cylinder no. 168. Such star-schemes appear in early Ionian jewellery, as, e.g., bee-stars found in the Artemisium at Ephesus (*Brit. Mus. Excav. at Ephesus*, p. 111, and pl. viii, nos. 6, 13, 14, 15).

A cylindrical base with scalloped edge is a rare variety well represented by Louvre, no. A. M. 443, but better by the very fine Berlin seal published by Meyer (*Chetiter*, pl. iv), whose style is that of the British Museum seal illustrated in fig. 78, *supra*. Other specimens with scalloped edges known to me are two in the Louvre Collection, A. M. 423 (hammer) and A. M. 421 (knob).

The Levant is the reputed source of no. 197, which shows spirals indistinguishable from the finest Late Aegean, e.g. those of Cyprus. They should be compared with those on a seal in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Bibl. Nat. Cat.* no. 649). The dress of the seated figure and the throne with high curved back can be paralleled from Mesopotamian art. Our seal is repeated, both in form and subject, by a less well engraved specimen in the Louvre; and I have also seen in the hands of an Armenian dealer (in Paris) a replica in silvered copper, which I thought undoubtedly forged. The existence of such replicas raises suspicions; but the excellence of the graving of our no. 197 encourages me to accept it as genuine.



FIG. 78.



FIG. 79.

Group 2

I pass from these stamps, which can mostly be compared directly with Class III cylinders, to others not capable of being so compared. These, which show rather more developed style than stamps in Class II and obviously are related to them, I suggest are representatives of the commoner stamps in use in the period of Class III. Many, or most, of them are perhaps older than many seals in group 1. No. 198 is a possibly late example of the rudimentary type of scaraboid (see p. 19) and fellow to a gable engraved with a stag or goat, which was procured by Chantre at Aleppo (*Cappadoce*, p. 161, fig. 145). A scaraboid in the British Museum (no. 102469) compares with it in style (fig. 80). The latter again recalls a cylinder found on the Acropolis of Carchemish (fig. 181) among ring-burnished sherds of the latest Middle Hittite period. The evidence



FIG. 80.

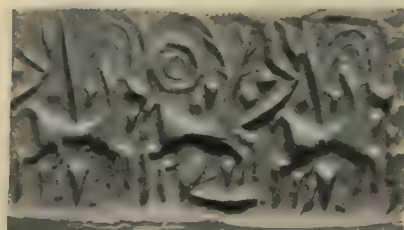


FIG. 81.

of this cylinder, for what it is worth (the stratification, at the point where this cylinder was found, was not quite conclusive), would place all these seals very early in Class III period at the latest. I am inclined to think they may be even of Class II, their subjects being of quite primitive enough style to be assigned to a date not far removed from the Loop-bores, or at least earlier than that of cylinder no. 150.

No. 199, however, which is of the same form, was said to have been found in a Cremation grave at Deve Huyuk. But since it can hardly be in any case so late as Class IV, it must be regarded as an heirloom dating some generations before the period of the grave, and, together with no. 202 below, may be of an earlier date than its place in our series suggests.

No. 200, exhibiting a fill-up chevron, might be placed in Class II, in the company of such seals as no. 87; but its style looks distinctly later and more akin to that of nos. 198, 199. No. 201 may be of any period.

I add no. 202, another scaraboid of A. 4 a type (see p. 19), whose subject is engraved in a manner more near to that of nos. 61, 63, than to anything in Class III. Both in subject and artistic style it stands apart among Hittite seals. The engraving on the back is executed rudely across the spinal and other dorsal marks characteristic of scaraboids of this shape, and should be regarded as a later, probably post-Hittite, addition.

Group 3

Certain Loops and Studs, of form-types seen already in Class II, show slightly later style and execution, and therefore I consider them here in Class III; but, probably, no great interval of time separates them from those of their form considered already. Seven of our eight *trilateral* specimens (including no. 91) bear subjects of a common type; two animals appear, one disposed horizontally across the base of the triangle, one vertically in the apex. The latter seems always to be a lion, which is sometimes (as on 205, 208) much degraded. The lower beast may be a horse, bull, wild goat, or antelope. The linear borders already noticed on quadrilateral studs (p. 64) reappear on most of the *trilaterals*.

Of *quadrilateral* studs I relegate doubtfully three to this later class. No. 209 must, in any case, be grouped with 204, so identical is its style; and there is no reason for separating 210 from 209.

No. 211, a stud, stands apart from the rest of the group. The toothed paw and the tripartite face relate it to the gold ring (no. 195) and to two interesting seals, a schist cylinder and an oval truncated conoid of red serpentine, in the British Museum. The cylinder in question (no. 102675, fig. 82) was procured by me, in 1908, from a woman at Tell Ahmar (*anc.* Til Barsip) on the left bank of the Euphrates. It displays a *πότνια θηρών* scheme in which appear not only tripartite faces and paws, but also details of body-features expressed by drilled pellets.

While the style of this cylinder is certainly not early (however rude its execution), the other British Museum seal (no. 644) with similar rendering of paws and face (fig. 83) is of a late form which did not come into general vogue in the Hittite area till the period represented

by Class IV. The stylized rendering of the sphinx's wing on our no. 211 accords with a latish date. Though on morphological grounds I place 211 here, I suspect it of being later than the other members of this group. If so, it supports my contention (p. 84) that stud-handled seals survived into the period of Class IV (see nos. 252 ff., *infra*).

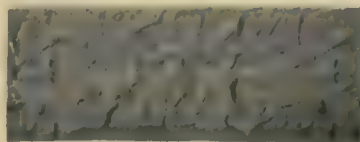


FIG. 82.



FIG. 83.

Group 4

Finally, I illustrate some examples of a very numerous species of loop-handled objects engraved, for the most part, with purely geometric designs. Their basal forms vary between quadrilateral and circular; the face is often slightly convex; the handle is a simple loop. They have the appearance rather of *buttons* than seals, but bear no obvious relation to the Egyptian button-seals. These examples (nos. 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218) are selected from a large number in the Ashmolean Collection. Any one who cares to acquire a respectable collection of these objects has only to spend a little time in Aleppo.

The subjects of Class III are the earliest in our series which illustrate developed religious symbolism. They represent at least three divine types—a seated draped goddess, a seated god, and a nude goddess erect. On one seal, 152, we seem to see the two first types together as the Divine Pair: and it is just possible that the Pair reappears on 153. Such a Pair is a familiar feature of both Syrian and Anatolian religions down to, at least, Lucian's time (see *infra*). Whether also a standing warrior god is shown on 150, 157, 158, 159, or on any one of these, I cannot decide; but have no doubt he appears on no. 164. Besides these deities we have demoniacal figures on 152, 171 (secondary scene), and probably 158.

The rest of the figures shown must be assumed to be human beings engaged in adoration, &c., till cause is shown to the contrary, e.g. on those seals which represent two persons (or one) with the Nude Goddess. The four figures on 150 are so much alike, three being armed with spears, that it is probable none of them is divine, though all may be intended to appear engaged in some cult-practice. So also may the two figures opposed, with a human head on a pole between them, on no. 160, and the single figure on 156. The last may possibly be represented as worshipping the upright sword before him. The 'dancers' on 153, 162, may be supposed to be human adorants; but not that on 165. The cut-off human heads and hands cannot but be symbolic. On a later seal (no. 168) we find a human hand clearly denoting a defeated foe,

whether an individual or a people, as is its usual significance in Mesopotamian symbolism, and also, in all likelihood, on the Carchemish slab quoted above. Of the human heads, the two with horns on nos. 154, 158, should be those of gods, not men, and, very possibly, of defeated racial gods. About the other heads one can only note that, since four appear in the same scene as hands on no. 154, they, probably, do not symbolize exactly what the latter do. The series of eight introduced on no. 152 can hardly be simple decoration, despite the decorative character of the other elements in their register, and of most of those in the two other registers. They must bear some symbolic relation to the, probably, Divine Pair in the main scene.

A 'Divine Pair', that is a male and a female divinity co-equal and co-ordinated in a single group, as in the great temple at Hierapolis, according to the treatise *De Syria Dea* (§ 31), is rarely met with in Hittite sphragistic representations; but it was, apparently, a common subject-type of metal groups both in Asia Minor and Syria. Four at least of the matrices used to make such groups are known, two being preserved



FIG. 84.



FIG. 85.

in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, one in the Louvre,¹ and a fourth in the Ashmolean (fig. 84). The representation on the last named, which is of polished steatite and rhomboidal form, measuring $\cdot 061 \times \cdot 047$ as extreme dimensions, differs from the other three by the absence of any clear sex-distinction of the two figures, and by the presence of a third, who must be regarded as either an adorant or, just possibly, a young god—the filial member of the Yasili Kaia triad. Certain features, e.g. the chignon hair-fashion of this figure, and the tripartite treatment of its facial profile, as well as the over-emphasis of the eye-sockets of the principal figures and the conventional 'geometric' treatment of their dress, all indicate a comparatively late date for this matrix—probably not before the tenth century. It is the only specimen procured in Syria. Of the others, the Louvre matrix was found at Selendj near Thyatira, while nothing certain is known of the sources of the two in the Cabinet des Médailles.

A counter-matrix was employed to mould the back of the subject. I figure here (fig. 85) three Ashmolean examples of resultant groups, two procured in Syria and the third (?) at Smyrna (said to have been found at Sardes and bought before 1889 by Greville

¹ See S. Reinach in *Esquisses archéologiques*, p. 45, and also A. J. Evans (*Cretan Pictographs*, &c., p. 133, fig. 136). The leaden objects in the Ashmolean, which

compare so closely with this *matrix* and are shown *ibid.*, fig. 137, are of too dubious authenticity to be used as evidence.

Chester). The single metal figures, which are even more common (e.g. the Louvre has a large number : see, on certain types of them, W. N. Bates in *Amer. Journ. of Arch.* 1911, pp. 14 ff.), and sometimes repeat the pointed and ribbed cap seen on our matrix, were made, no doubt, in similar moulds. The dates of these bronze groups and single figures cannot be determined on present evidence. They probably cover a fairly wide range in time. The obvious analogy between certain types of them, however, and Aegean figurines throws their beginnings back behind 1000 B.C. at any rate, and we shall probably not be far wrong if we assign them as a class to our Third Age. They have not yet appeared in Syrian Cremation graves, although terra-cottas of about the same artistic quality and style are frequent constituents of Cremation funerary furniture.

The canopies which appear on nos. 153, 170, should be noted. A close parallel to those on the first of these seals is supplied by the Morgan cylinder no. 245, an Egyptizing seal said to have been found in the Hauran.

CLASS IV A

In this class are placed seals (1) which either have come from ascertained Cremation cemeteries in North Syria, or show such evident marks of fire-action that they may be presumed to have been furniture of Cremation burials ; (2) which are nearly related in style to Cremation seals known to me, e.g. to those found in the Merj Khamis, Yunus, and Deve Huyuk I cemeteries ; (3) which seem, on other grounds, to be of late period, though they have not the warrant of close stylistic resemblance to known Cremation seals.

Group 1

Cremation burials were first discovered by natives at Merj Khamis about two miles north of Carchemish near the right bank of the Euphrates ; subsequently a little exploration was done in the cemetery by our excavators. The latter established the



FIG. 86.

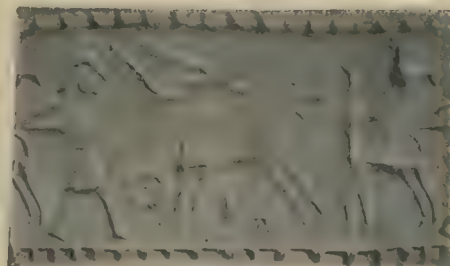


FIG. 87.

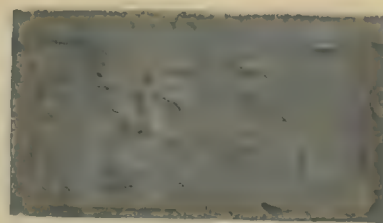


FIG. 88.

fact that the ceramic types, characteristic of the graves, were of the same general character as those of the Yunus cemetery, but slightly earlier in details of form and decoration. Cylinders accompanying the burials show very primitive Assyrianizing subjects, which argue that a new development in Syrian glyptic had lately been prompted by a fresh influence from north Mesopotamia. The Ashmolean possesses none found at Merj Khamis ; but I am able to illustrate, from the British Museum Collection, in figs. 86-90, homogeneous specimens of the prevailing types.

Fig. 87 (B. M. 104854) and fig. 89 (B. M. 104874) both show dentated borders which should be noted for future reference ; and the first and a third, similarly bordered, fig. 88 (B. M. 10487), have archer-subjects, also to be noted for the same purpose. The

treatment inclines to be linear like the Later Assyrian. The tripartite rendering of the archer's face in fig. 86 should be remarked, as also the broken-up conventional rendering of trees. The representation of the human hair in fig. 87 is the same as that on 177,

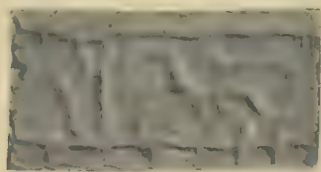


FIG. 89.

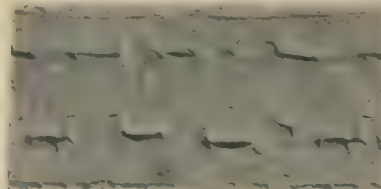


FIG. 90.

a cylinder possibly placed wrongly in Class III. All these cylinders are of steatite and are superficially scorched. Two more from the same cemetery, figs. 89, 90 (B. M. 104861, serpentine, and B. M. 104866, steatite), may be added. The first shows much the same characteristics as the other three: the second anticipates the summary graving of late conoids and scaraboids.

Group 2

Next come some slightly later seals of types found in the Yunus cemetery (i.e. Carchemish) with burials accompanied by Cremation pottery of fully developed forms



FIG. 91.

and decoration. The Ashmolean Collection includes none actually found in that cemetery; but others of the same character have been procured, which were found by natives in other cemeteries evidently of the same age. Types of actual Yunus cylinder-subjects are shown in the above drawing (fig. 91) made on the spot by Mr. C. L. Woolley. It will be observed that both style and execution are finer than in the preceding group, while the rendering has become more linear. The general

Assyrianizing character and the schemes of subject remain the same. The ribbed treatment of body-forms on the third cylinder (second row on left) should be noted for comparison with our nos. 223, 224, 225, &c., below.

Our own specimens of this group, nos. 219–222, call for little comment beyond this—that, had their type not been shown by the Yunus cemetery to be so prevalent in Syria that it must be regarded as indigenous, one might have pronounced it purely Assyrian. No. 222, which was found on the Mesopotamian bank, may, perhaps, be really Assyrian. No. 223 is a specimen of a fairly numerous family, derived from the same Late Assyrian style as the third cylinder in Mr. Woolley's drawing (fig. 91). Beasts are represented standing high on the leg, with necks of exaggerated length, and ribbed body surfaces. Human figures have stick-like limbs and striated draperies. No. 224 is derived from a common Late Assyrian style, an example of which (or a direct Syrian imitation) was found in the Carchemish (Yunus) Cremation cemetery (fig. 92). The cloven paws are characteristic and belong to the same treatment of feet as is seen on our nos. 137 ff. (see p. 62, *supra*). Comparison with this Carchemish seal also supplies sufficient warrant for including no. 226. As for 225, the metal medium has caused the style of the subject to diverge somewhat from that of all stone seals; but this cylinder has enough affinity with preceding members of the group to justify its inclusion.

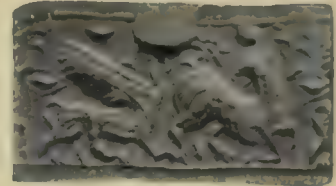


FIG. 92.

Group 3

During the Cremation period, glazed seals of compost or (rarely) of steatite, came into vogue in North Syria, and eventually almost superseded all others, until the moment when, on the revival of Neo-Babylonian dominion, crystalline and other hard stones, graven by Mesopotamian artists, began to supply models for a new fashion which lies outside the limits here set to Hittite glyptic.

Though members of this very numerous species may have been produced in regions outside the Hittite area, e.g. in Phoenicia, in Cyprus (where many have actually been found in graves), and in lower Egypt, there are so many which show features characteristic of the glyptic of Class IV that the species must be considered to belong to the Hittite family. Such are our nos. 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, all of which have the subject enclosed between linear borders. No. 229 has the additional guarantee of provenance. No. 233, whose column of stars is obviously reminiscent of a cuneiform inscription, exhibits a highly stylized type of recumbent beast. No. 234, the same. All collections contain glazed cylinders which show exactly this animal type, e.g. *Morgan Cylinders*, no. 168, &c. Compare also the style of an Enkomi cylinder (*Excavations in Cyprus*, pl. iv, no. 53), which I reproduce in fig. 93. Nos. 227, 228 recall the 'archer' subjects of Merj Khamis (cp. nos. 219, 222); but, like many of their species, they owe something also to Egypt (no. 228 was procured there).

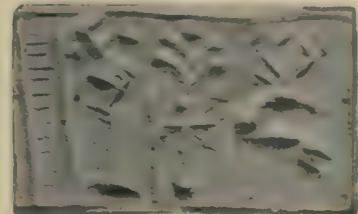


FIG. 93.

Others, again, such as our nos. 230, 231, both of which show Chaldaean influence, maintain marked Hittite features such as the cut-off hands on no. 230. No. 231 goes back to good models of the kind illustrated in fig. 70, and retains both the spiral coil in a form only slightly degraded and the daisy-rosette. No. 232 is remarkable for the

arrangement of the scene, and for the head-gear and hair fashion of the human figures. This cylinder is, perhaps, Cypriote or South Syrian.

Other specimens exist, which, though showing no distinctively Hittite feature, may still belong to Hittite glyptic.

Group 4

Specimens of the Deve Huyuk style, which is slightly later than that of Yunus, come next.

No. 235 has features which might argue an earlier place for it in the series ; e.g. the primitive rendering of heads by a beaked outline, and the attitudes of the supporting beasts. Its subject-scheme reminds one more nearly than any other of our seals (except no. 164) of the Yasili Kaia reliefs. But, on the other hand, its scratchy, degenerate graving, the freedom of the attitudes, and the presence of such a late demon-type as the man-scorpion, support the place which the toothed borders (see p. 83) argue for this cylinder.

No. 236 was found in a Cremation grave at Deve Huyuk (see p. 9) and is superficially calcined. It is rather Babylonian than Assyrian in character, and must be an early product of a period which came subsequently under exclusively Assyrian influence. The eagle in the upper field, approaching the Perso-Mesopotamian type of winged disk, recalls no. 196 (*c*) and fig. 75. The cuneiform character of many of the details (two actual single wedges appear behind the deity) is worth remark as a sign of comparatively early date.

No. 237 also recalls, by the treatment of lion-claws, seals placed earlier (nos. 137, 138, 139), and its abundant fill-up elements encourage doubts whether it can belong to so late a period as Class IV ; but I place it here on account of its scratchy style and its dentated borders.

No. 238 is superficially calcined. Its subject differs greatly in style from the preceding group and is almost purely Late Assyrian in conception ; but the Assyrian 'archer' model (cp. figs. 86-88) has been copied in a heavy non-Assyrian style, which I take to be a survival of the Babylonian-Hittite of the late Second and early Third Ages in Syria. The treatment of the human heads (cp. fig. 95) is more careful than on no. 236 ; but the scratchy graving of tree, spray, and bird indicates a later period than the rendering of human and animal forms might suggest. Such linear borders, shutting off rather wide margins, top and bottom, are, as we have seen already, characteristic of Cremation cylinders.

No. 239, whose subject, in its broken state, is not intelligible, may be placed in this group on the strength of the rendering of the part of a human figure visible. Parallels (not very close) to the lower part of the subject are offered by an Assyrian cylinder in the Cabinet des Médailles (*Bibl. Nat. Cat.* no. 311), and another (Babylonian ?) figured in *Seal Cylinders* (no. 1045).

Group 5

The rest of the cylinders in this class I believe to represent the Sargonid Syrian glyptic of the late eighth and the seventh centuries. They are, perhaps, not the only representatives. There are, for example, numerous cylinders, usually rated Assyrian (cp. *Bibl. Nat. Cat.* nos. 342 ff.), which, if of known provenance, have almost invariably been found on Syrian or North-west Mesopotamian soil. They are of the types illustrated in figs. 94-97, are usually made of red limestone or marble material, and come

as much from Central as from North Syria. They have a Semitic look, and I suggest that they also are Assyro-Syrian of the seventh century.

The two cylinders, 240, 241, were found, according to reliable native testimony, with Cremation burials and are both superficially calcined. They show the same general type of subject (note the stag with very steeply inclined and branching antlers) and the same bordered margins. The hair or head-dress (?) of the seated figure on no. 241 is treated as on, e.g., 238, and the supporting lion recalls the style of the supporters on no. 235. A cylinder of very similar style, with toothed borders, was found at Carchemish, but not under dateable conditions (fig. 98). It has a Cypriote look.

No. 242 repeats the toothed border in a decadent form and resembles no. 237 in respect of fill-up elements. The intense conventionalism of all the forms, and especially



FIG. 94.



FIG. 95.



FIG. 96.



FIG. 97.

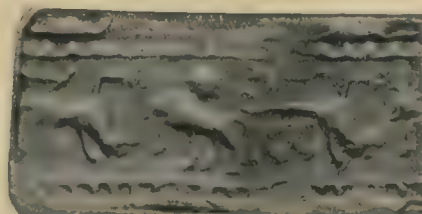


FIG. 98.

the seated goat in the upper field, remind us of the compost seals. The scratchily graved subjects which follow (nos. 243, 244, 245, 246) are all much of a sort. No. 243 shows a decadent reduction of the style of no. 237 but has degraded coil, instead of dentated, borders. No. 244 repeats the stags of nos. 241, 242. No. 245 is of doubtful authenticity. No. 246 re-introduces the tree.

Nos. 247, 248, apparently genuine seals, are of a distinct style, but obviously of late date. Like no. 249, I suspect them to represent the latest Syro-Assyrian art in the seventh century B.C.

No. 250 I place here in desperation. The style of its scorpions is suggestive of Babylonian influence (compare, e.g., *Bibl. Nat. Cat.* no. 88), but the execution looks late.

No. 251 may be compared with the style of such scaraboids as nos. 301, 303. The attitude of the stag marks it as late, for it compares with Perso-Mesopotamian representations of beasts (e.g. on a chalcedony seal in the British Museum, no. 169). The tree also is of the late Mesopotamian type, illustrated by such seals as one in the Morgan Collection (no. 280). I see no good reason to doubt the genuineness of this cylinder.

CLASS IV B

Group 1

Nos. 252, 253 are the latest specimens of studs known to me and may fall just within Class IV. The first is the only trilateral in our collection which shows one beast only, a stag whose antlers (of no. 241 type) are used to fill the apex. No. 252, by its summary style and scratchy graving, recalls a Merj Khamis cylinder (fig. 90).

Group 2

No. 254, a hammer, whose debased form warrants its being regarded as a late survival, is engraved in a distinctive, dry, but sure style, which is so near to that of a fine haematite scarab, found in 1912 in a Cremation grave at Carchemish (Yunus) and illustrated in fig. 99, that it must belong to the same art and period. Another parallel is offered by a Louvre hammer seal (no. A. M. 425), which shows a lion fighting with an eagle, above a running goat. This seal has pellet marks in the field such as appear on our no. 254. Its softer style, combined with the figure and attitude of the goat, marks it as transitional between our nos. 254 and 255. The feathery style of no. 255 is characteristic of late hammers. Compare British Museum, no. 102470 (fig. 100).

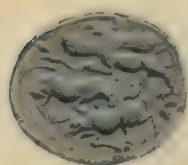


FIG. 99.



FIG. 100.

No. 256 repeats the eagle type of no. 254. No. 257 I include with all reserve. If genuine, it exemplifies a combination of the styles of no. 237 and no. 255. The object in the upper field above the lion must be a degradation of an eagle such as appears on no. 255. But the singularity of the material (I know no other Hittite seal of ivory), added to the absence of any precise parallel to the style, compels suspense of judgement.

Where to assign no. 258 I feel no doubt, upon comparison of its tree with that on no. 255, and of its eagle and stag with those on nos. 254, 236, 241, 242.

No. 259, though procured at Hammam, was not said by the natives to have been excavated there. The pellets in the field rank it beside no. 254, and its free style recalls no. 255. Its place is between these two.

Group 3

No. 260 is to be compared with such cylinders as no. 237.

Nos. 261, 262 are placed together for comparison, but 262 is probably the earlier, its style being reminiscent of Class III loops and studs, but its execution more summary and scratchy. The fill-up mark in the upper field of 261 should be compared with no. 257.

Group 4

As for 263, it is not far removed in date from cylinder no. 249; but if there is any difference, it is later. The adorant's costume is represented in the linear manner characteristic of post-Hittite Syrian glyptic, e.g. as shown on the common cubical beads and on the curious cylinder in the Ashmolean Collection illustrated in fig. 101, which is probably from middle (Aramaean) Syria. See what has been said above on nos. 247 ff.

Group 5

A few other stamp-seals of earlier shapes must be placed, on grounds of style, as late as the period of Class IV.

No. 264 is not the usual shape of stud, its handle being of oblong ovoid shape.

Possibly, it is either South Syrian or Cypriote. But the style of its subject compares fairly closely with that of a Yunus Cremation cylinder illustrated in fig. 102. A seal of similar form was sold in Paris recently, and I give a photograph of its impression, fig. 103. No. 265 might, perhaps, be put a class higher on account of its form and its degenerate survival of a cuneiform border (cp. p. 72, no. 189); but its scratchy style is more appropriate to Class IV.

No. 266 is a hammer of even more decadent shape than no. 254. No. 267 is another of very late appearance, which exhibits, modified by the metal medium, something of the style of no. 260. As for 268, since the treatment and pose of the bull's head is the same as on the preceding seal and on the conoid no. 282, *infra*, it can hardly be placed in any other class than this.



FIG. 101.



FIG. 102.

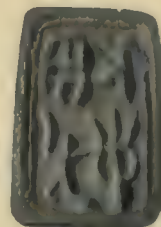


FIG. 103.

Nos. 269, 270 are 'Stalks' of not very characteristic or early form; but the first may be earlier than I place it. The second is finely engraved with an 'Auroch' subject of partly Mesopotamian, partly Egyptian, character—a type common on conoids and scaraboids. It may be Phoenician work. A similar type of subject, of which the same can be said, appears on no. 271, the first of three 'Loops'; the subjects on the other two (nos. 272, 273) do not look any earlier.

The subject-style of the 'freak' seal no. 274 resembles the compost-cylinders, and most closely those of (probably) Cypriote provenance. Such 'foot' seals are known in Egypt. Parallels to its artless style can be found on late conoids, and on bullae (e.g. no. 317).

Group 6

I set apart the *conoidal* and *scaraboidal* stamp-seals. The name of these in Syria is legion, and they belong, in large proportion, undoubtedly to the post-Hittite period. But while the late Cremation graves at Yunus (Carchemish) and Deve Huyuk contained examples of both forms, certain other specimens bear subjects of sufficiently early style to justify the presumption that they fall within the Cremation period. I give examples selected from a number in the Ashmolean Collection.

The two forms pass one into the other, that is to say, the conoid is often of so truncated a shape as to be almost indistinguishable from the conventionalized variety of scaraboid, which I call 'domed' (see p. 20). Scaraboids of the latter shape—mere oval beads with flat bases, vertical or sharply inclined sides, and polished convex backs—were in use as early as the XVIIIth Dynasty in Egypt. The type may well have been introduced into Syria at the same time as the Egyptian influence noted in regard to seal-subjects of Class III. Three seals of this form, nos. 304, 305, 306, will be considered presently.

The *conoid*, however, probably originated in Syria independently of Egypt, having

been evolved from earlier types of handleless seals. As a rule, the more truly conoidal the form, the earlier the seal; but this rule must not be unduly pressed. The cutting down of the cone towards the domed scaraboidal type described above began very soon, if I am right about the relation into which I have put the British Museum truncated conoid, fig. 105; and, perhaps, not only the domed type of scaraboid, but also both true and truncated conoids, had begun to come into vogue in the Hittite area before the close of the period of Class III. I have seen, and reproduce an impression of, a tall conoid of black serpentine,¹ in private possession at Constantinople (fig. 104), whose subject, though marked as late by the Egyptized eagle in the upper field, retains enough of the style and manner of the finer handled stamp-seals and cylinders of Class III to warn us against assigning all and every conoid to the Cremation period.

Very similar to the Constantinople seal in style, and not unlike scaraboid no. 304, is our no. 275, also of serpentine, which hails from the same district as nos. 304, 305. Its remarkable 'Dagon' subject is, so far as I know, unique.

No. 276 is of truer conoidal form and markedly Egyptizing subject, but it was found in a Cremation grave and must be classed with the glazed cylinders and seals.

Of the same form, but slightly oval horizontal section, are nos. 277, 278, the latter being of ascertained North Syrian provenance. The presence of a moulding round the base of the cone generally coincides with rather late style as in nos. 279, 280, 281, and also with ovality of horizontal section. It will be noticed how, in the general scheme of subject represented on nos. 280, 281, and also on nos. 285, 286, 292, a man, or a spray, or a scorpion, appears alternatively in the field. Of peculiar conoidal form are nos. 282, 283, deeply grooved horizontally and spirally. The form of no. 283 appears to be a degradation of a coiled snake, whose head is the apex of the cone. The style of no. 282 has at least one feature which recalls nos. 267, 268, q.v.



FIG. 104.

Nos. 284-288, all of the truncated variety, are hardly to be distinguished from scaraboids. The highly conventional conception and style of their subjects are much the same, and will reappear on undoubted scaraboids, such as no. 292.

Group 7

Scaraboids are even more numerous than conoids, and vary greatly in form and material. Since they become extraordinarily prevalent in post-Hittite Inhumation graves, one must have recourse to provenance, where possible, and to comparison with conoids, &c., if we are to certify any specimen as prior to that period. Therefore I consider first two specimens of different form-types, which came from a Cremation burial at Deve Huyuk. Nos. 289, 290 are typical provincial imitations of two Egyptian shapes, the split almond or date-stone and the naturalistic beetle; but the second alone has an Egyptizing design. The first shows a figure of late Mesopotamian-Hittite type.

By comparison of conoid subjects we can be sure that nos. 291, 292, 293 are of the Cremation period. The conoids, whose style is practically identical with these, are nos. 284 to 288, themselves, it will be remembered, of almost scaraboidal form. No. 292 should be distinguished as a specimen of a not uncommon Syrian variety, which has the back carved to represent a human face, while the general form of the seal remains scaraboid. The subjects on these specimens are usually of the horse-pursuing man and scorpion-spray type noticed above (nos. 280, 281). The style of the subject on no. 294,

¹ This is the same seal mentioned by Messerschmidt (*C. I. H.* i, p. 41) as published by Scheil in *Recueil*, xx, p. 200. Whether the impression of the identical

subject, said by Jensen to be taken from a seal in Hayes Ward's possession, was really from the Constantinople seal, I do not know

another variant, whose back is decorated with a chevron pattern, justifies the inclusion also of no. 295, a finely polished red serpentine specimen, which, like nos. 296, 297, 298, is of ascertained North Syrian Hittite provenance. It represents, probably, a comparatively early scaraboidal form, derived from the earlier species A. 4 a. (see p. 19), and retaining its spinal and radiating mouldings. Nos. 296, 297 show Neo-Babylonian influence, and no. 298 is one of the latest of our specimens, perhaps post-Hittite.

Nos. 299, 300, scaraboidal beads of ordinary conventionalized Egyptian form, are also early enough in style to be Cremation seals. No. 299, especially, is not far removed from no. 295. No. 301 may be compared with our nos. 255, 257, but is probably later art.

I reserve to the end five scaraboid beads of domed type, two of which, nos. 302, 303, are distinguished by engraving on both face and back. The subjects of all are executed in an advanced delicate style, with which that of a conoid in the British Museum (no. 134) may be compared (fig. 105). No. 304, with plain domed back, highly polished, is the only one of the last three whose provenance is definitely ascertained. It comes from the Jebel Abu Gelgel district. Its subject is of the same elaborate Neo-Babylonian style as the conoid, no. 275. No. 305, owing to identity of form, rare material, and provenance, may safely be grouped with 304; and no. 306, which shows the same group of script-characters as 305 and the same manner of graving, falls in with the other two. It should be noted that a clay sealing, found by Layard at Nineveh, shows the impress of a subject virtually identical with our no. 304 (*C. I. H.* ii, pl. xxxix, no. 10).



FIG. 105.

AMULETS

I. *Tabloids*

The tabloidal 'necklace-divider', 307, is probably an amulet rather than a seal. The subject on the obverse is in a style not quite like any other known to me; but its flat contoured intaglio shows kinship with seals in Class II. In one feature, the eagle, it resembles 114. Its style and scheme, however, remind me strongly of the best executed reliefs at Eyuk, e.g. the slab of goats being led to sacrifice. The reverse scene also looks early and should belong to the period of such seals as no. 36 and its cognates.

II. *Semi-bullae and Bullae*

There remain those glyptic objects which I have called *Bullae* and *Semi-bullae*. These form an important class, whose morphology has been described on p. 22. I set it apart from the seal-classes because I suspect the two species composing it to have been amulet-pendants, not seals, for the following reasons. (1) All known *Bullae*, with one exception, are engraved with two subjects. Yet, for obvious reasons, no man uses commonly two different imprints as his sign manual.¹ (2) The convexity of the engraved faces of most specimens is ill adapted to sigillatory use: it makes a seal difficult to detach from the clay, without blurring its imprint.²

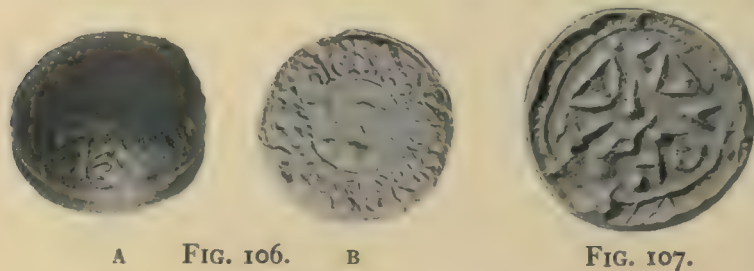
Semi-bullae are also affected by both these arguments, but in a less degree, because, (1) the two subjects engraved on each of the few members of this species known appear to be identical; and, (2) while their domed back is even less suitable for stamping an impression than the convex cheeks of *Bullae*, the basal face is flat and not less suitable

¹ This argument, of course, will apply also to other doubly engraved objects, e.g. scaraboids like no. 302, *supra*, q.v.

² A similar observation is made by Garstang in *Liverpool Annals*, 1908, p. 11.

for sigillatory use than that of any other Hemispheroid. These two species, however, are so closely connected by their general character and the details of their engraved subjects that I group them together.

(a) *Semi-Bullae*. This species is rare and represented at present, so far as I am aware, by only the five Ashmolean specimens and one in bronze found at Carchemish (fig. 106 A, B), but not under datable conditions. The fine silver hemispheroid in the Louvre (no. 3755) has none of the distinctive morphological features of a Semi-bulla, and a roughly shaped red serpentine seal in the same collection (no. A. M. 479) is far below the quality of the species both in form and engraving. It belongs, apparently, to the same class as an equally roughly shaped hemispheroid of red serpentine in the Ashmolean Collection, engraved with characters, which, to whatever script they belong,



A FIG. 106.

B

FIG. 107.



FIG. 108.

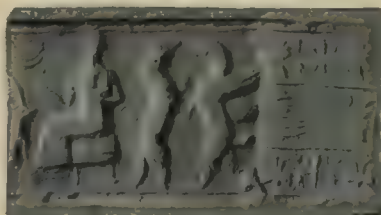


FIG. 109.

are not Hittite (fig. 107), but remind me either of the characters incised on Hissarlik whorls, or those on the Enkomi clay balls. As has been said already, Semi-bullae may constitute not a distinct species, but only a sumptuous sub-species of hemispheroids; but against this view must be set the fact that no other Hemispheroid has their characteristic grooved belt.

Their period admits of no doubt. It is that of Class III—the period also, as will be shown presently, of most *Bullae*. The analogy offered by the elements (fig. 108) forming the borders on nos. 308, 309, and by those on the Tamassos tripod-seal (no. 191), a Louvre *bullae* (see below, p. 90), and a lunate pendant in the British Museum (*supra*, p. 63, fig. 67), is obvious. Similar elements occur also on a haematite cylinder in the Ashmolean, which has been cut down at some period to take a panel of Hittite text flanked by two decorative panels (fig. 109). Though the main subject-scheme of this cylinder is Babylonian, it is not executed quite in Babylonian style, but has something of the characteristic Hittite flatness of intaglio. If it is Syrian work, it dates originally from the latter part of our Class I period; but the Hittite inscription, &c., belongs, to judge by the form of the script-characters and the decorative elements, to Class III period. Its provenance is unknown (it was bought in Naples).

Of these decorative elements (fig. 108) the rosette in a peculiar form reappears on nos. 310, 311, whose domes bear borders similar to those on the tripod no. 191, and on bullae.

The rarity of Semi-bullae, and their common peculiarities, make one suspect they belong to some one locality, distinct from that where the mass of Hittite glyptic was produced. If so, what was the locality? Certain considerations suggest a coast-land of the north-east Levant.

(1) The Cypriote provenance of the gold tripod-seal no. 191.

(2) The outline metallic style of nos. 310, 311. This is akin to that of a steatite cylinder of unknown provenance in the Ashmolean Collection (fig. 110), and, through

it, to certain seals of which Hayes Ward has published specimens (*Morgan Cylinders, &c.*, pl. xxv, nos. 174, 175). The first of these, Ward suggests, is from an 'outlying province of Assyria'. The nearest known analogies to features of their subjects are supplied by Cypriote cylinders.

(3) The material of no. 311, white steatite, is very rare in Hittite glyptic. I know no other example except a bulla bought by Garstang at Aintab (see fig. 114, *infra*). But it is the material of three hemispheroidal seals, singular both in style and form of subject, in the Cabinet des Médailles (K. 594, N. 3456, M. 7121), which were bought at the Cesnola sale and are almost certainly Cypriote. Of one of these (K. 594), said to have been found near Larnaca, an impression, obtained in Cyprus by Sayce, has been in the Ashmolean for many years (fig. 111).

These indications all point to Cyprus. But (1) Semi-bullae have not turned up in Cyprus, much as the island has been excavated; (2) such objects as no. 308 and the cylinder, fig. 109, seem too distinctively Hittite for Cyprus to have been their place of production. Still more Hittite are all the Semi-bullae, bearing Hittite legends, and all the cognate objects, such as the bullae in the Louvre and the British Museum, which show the same decorated borders (fig. 112); the British Museum

lunate amulet-pendant (p. 63, fig. 67); the white Aintab Bulla (fig. 114); a silver tripod-seal in the British Museum (no. 102475, fig. 112), whose subject so resembles that of our bronze 312 that it can hardly have a different origin; and, finally, the Carchemish

bronze Semi-bulla, whose decorative borders contain elements similar to those presented by the rest of its species (fig. 106 A, B). Failing Cyprus, I suggest Cilicia, the nearest mainland, and the actual source of no. 310, the design on which, by the way, supplies another link with the British Museum amulet illustrated in fig. 67. Semi-bullae therefore, on present evidence, appear to have been produced in a North-east Levant coastland in Class III period, are exotics in the main Hittite area both north and south, and had a very brief vogue.

(b) *Bullae*. This interesting species is comparatively numerous and represented in all the chief collections of Hittite glyptic products. The Ashmolean possesses twenty-three specimens. None known to me is of any material harder than soft limestone or serpentine, and the greater number are of steatite. Several specimens have been discovered under ascertained circumstances in Syria, e.g. one was excavated in 1911 at Carchemish in the remains of a crude-brick house of, probably, tenth-century date; four were found in 1912 in the Cremation cemetery at Deve Huyuk (nos. 319, 320, 330, 331); and three were almost certainly obtained in graves at Tell Basher (nos. 313, 314, 321). Various indications point to the species having been known also in Asia Minor¹ (cp. our no. 326); and when Hittite graves of a certain period come to be explored there, Cappadocian specimens will doubtless come to light.

During what period was this species of amulet in vogue? Three specimens in the Ashmolean Collection (nos. 320, 330, 331), from the earlier cemetery at Deve Huyuk, showing superficial traces of fire, prove that its lower chronological limit must be fixed

¹ Hayes Ward published five specimens in *Amer. Journ. Arch.* iv, p. 172, pl. 8, 9, as from 'Kaisarieh and neighbourhood'.



FIG. 110.



FIG. 111.



FIG. 112.

not earlier than the latter part of the Syrian Cremation period—the seventh century B.C. While all these three show degraded technique or decadent art, there are others (e.g. nos. 332, 334, 335, 336), whose subjects are either broken-up survivals, or degradations, of the inscription-subjects, which are characteristic of earlier specimens. The species therefore must have continued in vogue to the very end of the Hittite Age in Syria.

What is its higher limit? There are several specimens in various collections which bear close relation to seals in our Class III. (1) A Bulla in the Louvre (A. M. 412), of red serpentine material and discoid form, is engraved with decorative borders, not only on both sides, but also round the circumference. In these occur daisy-rosettes (cp. nos. 182, 184, 186, and the Semi-bullae), and, on one face, the same stylized trefoils as appear on the gold tripod from Tamassos (no. 191); on the other are *cruces ansatae* of the form commented upon in connexion with nos. 181, 196. There is no doubt, therefore, about the coincidence of this specimen with Class III, even if it were not sufficiently demonstrated by the style of the hare, which forms the central subject on one face. (2) A British Museum Bulla (no. 102466) presents degraded borders, containing similar elements (fig. 113). (3) Another Louvre Bulla (A. M. 411) is related to such seals as our no. 196, or Louvre A. O. 3755, and its cognates (cp. figs. 77, 78, 79).



(4) Among our own Bullae, no. 313 is in the style of the cylinder no. 164 and the Yasili Kaia reliefs. The birds in the hands of the figures are developed variants of the bird-type of the early Class III seals. No. 314 is also in this style, showing the same divine figure similarly armed. Slightly earlier should be a fine Bulla (fig. 114) in white steatite (not ivory, as published), which was procured by Garstang at Aintab (*Liverpool Annals*, 1908, p. 11, pl. xiv). The god here wears a helmet or mitre, the only known analogy to which (and it is close) is the helmet of the figure on the jamb of the 'King's Gate' at Boghazkeui—a fact which throws light on the period of this relief.

Similar evidence is offered by both nos. 315, 316. The hard precise style of the former subject, and the freer style of the latter, are both in the manner of seals of Class III.

The other three Bullae in our collection which exhibit other subjects than legends in script-characters, viz. nos. 317, 318, 319, are, however, emphatically of Class IV period. No. 317 ranks with the compost cylinders and the marble seal no. 264 and with a late Cremation cylinder found at Carchemish (Yunus) (fig. 92). As for 318, a very thin discoid specimen, and 320, a small example, they are obviously of the period of the conoids, the tree or spray on 318 being of the same type which appears on the foot-seal no. 274. About no. 319 also there can be no question. It belongs to the glyptic art of the Cremation conoids and scaraboids (IV, group 6); and, as a matter of fact, it was found, like 320, in a Cremation grave at Deve Huyuk.

When we turn to those specimens which exhibit only legends in script-characters, without accompanying figures, we find ourselves within the same chronological limits. Nos. 321, 322, 323, for example, have exactly the type of border already remarked and

commented upon in connexion with the tripod seal no. 189. No. 322 shows a kind of script-subject which is illustrated by several specimens in various collections, e.g. by a Berlin Bulla, of which Meyer gives an illustration in *Chetiter*, p. 47, fig. 38; by one procured by the Cornell expedition at Aghansik, in the Kharput district (*Travels and Studies*, p. 44, pl. 23, so far as I can judge from the illustration); by one in the Cabinet des Médailles, no. M. 6750; and by two in the Louvre, nos. A. M. 418, 419. No. 323 is close kin to a Bulla of the same material, presented by John Ruskin to the British Museum and exhibited hitherto in the Gold Room among Rhodian objects, procured by him from the Biliotti family (fig. 115). Nos. 324, 325 are of a later type, the nearest parallel to which is the conoid seal figured on p. 86, *supra* (fig. 104). These come from the same district as our nos. 301, 302, and belong to about the same date, i.e. the opening of the Cremation Age.



A FIG. 115. B

Between these dates fall probably our nos. 323, 324, 325. But it is possible that 326, whose script characters are so cut as to reproduce more nearly the effect of a Hittite relief inscription than those on any other bulla known to me except no. 313, may be an early specimen. The singular Bulla no. 327, from the same district as nos. 324, 325, bears an inscription of too reduced a linear type to be otherwise than comparatively late. With 328 the script-characters are beginning to show a sketchy appearance, which will be accentuated on 329, 330, 331 (from Cremation graves), till we reach utter decay in 332, 333, 334, 335, 336.

Since the Bulla class contains 90 per cent. of the known inscribed Hittite glyptic objects, this would be a natural place to deal with seal-legends, if anything could be said profitably about them in the actual state of our knowledge of the Hittite script. But, as it is, there is very little that is worth saying. Short as these legends are, each probably expressing not more than one name, a great many characters appear in them, and though certain of these, e.g. ✧ ~ ~ ~ Δ ~ ~ ~ Δ * occur more frequently than

others, nothing can safely be deduced from the fact. R. Campbell Thompson, in his *New Decipherment of the Hittite Hieroglyphs* (*Archaeologia*, lxiv, p. 112), called attention to the frequency of the first of these characters and suggested that it had the ideographic value, 'seal'. But except upon Bullae, whose sphragistic purpose is doubtful and even improbable, this character is not frequently found. In fact it appears in our collection only on Bullae; while it is found not more than three times on the eighteen Schlumberger sealings, and not at all on the ten Layard sealings.

CHAPTER IV

DATING AND LOCAL ORIGIN

I. *Chronology*

THE foregoing catalogue has propounded a sequence of seal-types, from those which represent, apparently, the beginnings of Hittite glyptic to those of a moment when Hittite art, as a whole, was about to lose its individuality in the Syro-Anatolian artistic *κοινή*. As has been said already, chronological validity is claimed for the succession of only the *classes* in this Catalogue, that is to say, the order of groups and specimens within classes is not to be taken to signify chronological sequence, except where so stated expressly. If, then, this relative scheme be accepted as a working hypothesis, can the absolute chronology of any class, group, or specimen included in it be determined?

Two methods may be used towards this end: (1) observation of the associations in which any glyptic specimens or glyptic imprints on clay have been found in the course of excavation or exploration; and (2) comparison of Hittite subjects with those of alien glyptic arts, whose chronology happens to be better assured. The first of these methods promises the more convincing objective evidence, subject only to the caution, stated on p. 16, about the inherent difficulty of closely dating small glyptic objects of all families.

(1) The available data are the following:

(a) Certain tablets found among the clay archives of the Hattic Dynasty at Boghazkeui and dated to the thirteenth century, bear seal-imprints made while the clay was still wet, and therefore coeval with the tablets themselves. It follows that seals of the types represented by these imprints must have been in use at or before the dates of the documents.

I can cite particular imprints on three tablets,¹ pending fuller publication of the Boghazkeui archives. (i) The first, figured by Meyer in his *Chetiter* (p. 44, fig. 34), was made by a round-faced seal engraved with two concentric belts of cuneiform legend, surrounding a central rosette with dentated corolla. Of the two others, examined by myself in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, (ii) one, stamped on the edge of a tablet, is the imprint of a round-faced seal, engraved with an antelope moving to right in a field occupied by six Hittite script-characters; (iii) the other appears in the middle of a broken tablet, the impression having been made on the inscription itself; unfortunately, a fracture crosses the imprint, sparing only about a third of it; but one can still see that it was made with a round-faced seal, engraved with three concentric belts of cuneiform legend round a circular panel of Hittite script-characters, of which only one and part of another survive. Both these two imprints were made with flat seal-faces having perpendicular sides. They cannot, therefore, have been made with bullae, since faces of this species, even when not convex, always have their edges more or less bevelled; nor again with hemispheroids; but they should be imprints of Handled seals with round flat-faced bases, or of Rings like our no. 194, which has a circular flat bezel.

There is no extant seal either in the Ashmolean Collection or known to me else-

¹ I am unable to identify any one of these tablets with those whose contents have been published so far.

Their dates, therefore, can only be given approximately as above, for the present.

where which bears a subject-scheme quite parallel to those represented by these imprints ; but the concentric arrangement of the elements on i and iii, round a circular panel, belongs clearly to the same subject-type as appears on Hammers and Knobs illustrated on p. 75, (figs. 78 and 79), and on our ring, no. 194 ; while the scheme of ii recalls our Tripod no. 188 and a Berlin Tripod published by Meyer (*Chetiter*, p. 45, fig. 35). Nearer to i and iii, however, than any of these parallels is the subject-scheme of the famous ' Tarkutimme Boss '. Since every one of the seals just quoted falls within Class III, I feel no doubt at all that some part of this class is coeval with those stamped tablets and, therefore, is to be dated within the later period of the Hattic Dynasty (1300 to 1200 B.C.).

None of the three Boghazkeui imprints, as has been said already, shows a subject precisely similar to that of any of our seals which have the same face-form. This divergence might be explained by difference of locality, North Cappadocian seals having been used upon the tablets, whereas our specimens of the same general type, as well as the parallel specimens, cited above from other collections, might perhaps be from southerly regions, where (among other distinguishing conditions which would affect sphragistic subjects) the cuneiform script was not (according to present evidence) used by Hittites in the thirteenth century. But, since Chantre procured at Boghazkeui a tripod seal (*Cappadoce*, fig. 126) which has the same degenerate kind of cuneiform border as our tripod 189, the Berlin tripod just cited, and also our ring 194, it would be against the evidence to assume that North Cappadocian seals of these form-types differed much in their subject-schemes from Syrian seals of the Hattic dynastic period. It seems a more likely explanation that the seals used to make the Boghazkeui imprints may be somewhat earlier specimens of their types than any actually found yet. They might be dated to the beginning of the thirteenth century for example, and our specimens to the middle of that century—the latest period of artistic maturity and the earliest of decadence.

I have seen half a dozen other seal-imprints from Boghazkeui, besides those found by Chantre ; but since these are stamped on undated clay cones or nodules, they are useless for my present purpose, until the associations, in which the cones or nodules in question were found, have been published. I may, however, put on record meanwhile that two of these imprints have been made with seals of a type similar to those used on the tablets cited above. One exhibits four Hittite script-characters arranged like those on imprint iii (*supra*) ; the other, a god in horned conical cap moving to right with arms outstretched and a bird perched on one fist, who resembles closely the figures on our tripod no. 188 and our cylinder, no. 164. A third stamp displays a central circular panel of Hittite script-characters within a border of symbols of the same type as those on the Hammer-seal figured on p. 75, fig. 78. A fourth is of unique interest for quite another reason—it is the rolled-out impression of a cylinder engraved with Hittite script-characters.

The clay sealings found at Kuyunjik and published by Layard, Hayes Ward, and others, are not of much avail, since the associations in which they were lying at the time of discovery either are unknown or have not been satisfactorily recorded, and the original documents, now lost, to which they were attached, may, of course, have been of any age. All that can be said is that the mass of the remains, among which they occurred, was not earlier than the New Assyrian Kingdom. The imprints which show simple legends in Hittite script-characters do not represent seals of the same types as those cited above.

So far, therefore, as the evidence of imprints goes, we must rest content for the present with one important inference, which I claim as the starting-point of Hittite glyptic chronology, viz. that *Class III style falls in the period of the acme and decline of Cappadocian Hattic art*, i.e. from the fourteenth century B.C. to, perhaps, the middle of the eleventh. [But two cylinders, lately found in Crete, will, if proved Late Minoan I, push back the beginning of Class III by at least a century.]

(b) It follows that the seals in Classes II and I must be dated before that period. It will be noted that, whereas the Ashmolean specimens of Class I are all roller-seals, those of Class II include many handleless stamp-seals of the Gable, Hemispheroid, and Scaraboid (A. 4 a, rudimentary) species, and handled specimens of the Stalk, Loop, and Stud species. Now, the evidence for any early Cappadocian use of Roller-seals is very weak, being based on a few impressions observed on clay envelopes and cuneiform tablets, which have come, not from the Hittite cities of the North, but from sites in Central Cappadocia. These tablets themselves, like the bronze and other objects found on those same sites (e.g. at Kara Eyuk near Kaisariyeh), are not demonstrably Hittite documents at all, but are rather records of some Semitic colonial expansion pushed into the north-west at a period which has been dated variously.¹ The known sphragistic imprints upon them are uniformly (see p. 51) those of Semitic seals.

Chantre procured only one cylinder (a late specimen of Class IV style) from Boghazkeui and Eyuk Aladja together, and his clay sealings from those sites have all been made with stamp-seals. A cylinder-impression, however, does occur on a Boghazkeui sealing found by Winckler (*supra*, p. 93); but the seal used was of no earlier date than Class III period, since it is associated on the clay nodule with two impressions of quite late stamp-seals. I know no early Hittite cylinder of ascertained Cappadocian provenance, while even among cylinders of later styles, there are hardly half a dozen known whose Cappadocian origin is at all probable.

Evidence, therefore, points strongly at present to both the origin and the vogue of the roller-seal in the Hittite Area having been southern. This, indeed, was to be expected, seeing that the roller form can hardly have been derived at the first from any other land than Babylonia, and that Mesopotamia continued throughout to be its home. If it did pass the Taurus now and then, it was probably as an exotic. Nor is there evidence, at present, for a Cappadocian Hittite glyptic period so early as the Syrian represented by Class I.

On the other hand, Stamp-seals of the earliest forms, which are characteristic of Class II, have been found in Cappadocia in numbers which must be regarded as considerable, if the small proportion borne by Cappadocian exploration and excavation, scientific and unscientific, to Syrian, be taken into account. In the Musée Guimet, for example, are four Gables from Boghazkeui and three from Eyuk Aladja; three Hemispheroids from these same sites, and two Scaraboids of the rudimentary species from Boghazkeui—all procured by Chantre. Illustrations are given also by the latter (*op. cit.*, pp. 160, 161) of five Gables procured in the Yuzgat district, at Fraktin, and at Kaisariyeh. I have no means of knowing what seals, if any, the German excavators found at Boghazkeui; but, in any case, the above list of Chantre's acquisitions is enough to support my point, that during the vogue of the elder types of handleless stamp-seals, these were used as much in Cappadocia as in Syria, and that the two parts of the Hittite Area, northern and southern, formed, at that time, viz. the period of Class II, one

¹ Dates which have been proposed are as wide apart as the Dynasty of Ur (Sayce) and the Second Assyrian Empire (Pinches). See p. 2 and note.

glyptic province—as also in the earlier period of Class III. They did not do so, however, in the period of Class I—at least, there is no evidence that they did. Therefore, arguing from political conditions to artistic, I conclude that *Class II period represents the glyptic of all the area in the earlier part of the Hattic Age, i.e. approximately 1600 to 1400 B.C., at any rate, and perhaps also some time even prior to that; while Class I represents a period of Syrian glyptic art above the higher limit of Class II.*

(c) Some individual seals, commented upon in the preceding chapter, have been found by excavators in associations which support these dates.

(i) *Class I.* The three Hammam and two Kara Kusak cylinders, nos. 1-4, 12, and a Carchemish cylinder (*supra*, fig. 54) were all found (see pp. 49 ff.) with such 'Middle Hittite' pottery, weapons, pendants, beads, &c., as are to be referred to the earlier part of the Syrian Bronze Age, and of the Cist-Burial period (see Woolley, loc. cit., pp. 90 ff. : but the circumstances of the Hammam find are none too certain).

(ii) *Class II.* The large proportion of Loop-bore cylinders, which hail from Tell Basher, indicates a date for their type before the middle of the Syrian Bronze Age; for there, undoubtedly, a 'Middle Hittite' cemetery of a period prior to the 'Amarna type' has been excavated by the local peasants (see p. 16).

(d) The Hattic Power, however, came to an end (1200 B.C.) much earlier than the glyptic style of Class III. If, as seems certain, that Power was overwhelmed by Anatolian peoples both in Cappadocia and in Syria, these, surely, did not alone introduce so markedly Assyrian a style as that which opens Class IV. Nor can we account for the introduction of this style much before 1000 B.C. There is, therefore, a gap of nearly two centuries between the fall of the Hattic Power and the probable date of the earliest seals of Class IV. Specimens of this latter class are found, from the first, associated with Cremation burials, but (as stated on p. 79) not with the very earliest types of Cremation pottery and implements that are represented in the strata on the Carchemish town-site. Since these, however, are not enough to fill anything like two previous centuries, we find ourselves in this position: either we have no Syrian seals at all, or we have only the later and more decadent specimens of the style of Class III, to represent not only the earliest Cremation period, but also about a century and a half previous—i.e. the Third Age of my Introductory scheme (p. 11). I am disinclined to accept the first alternative in view of the great amount of tomb-digging which has been done for some years past in North Syria, and prefer to believe that we are in possession now of glyptic representatives of all the main Syrian Hittite periods, including what I have called the Moschian-Hattic and the earliest Moschian-Assyrian (Cremation) Ages. If so, those specimens of Class III which show the driest and most formalized style (such as, e.g., our nos. 159 and 162) can belong to the earliest Cremation Age.

Where, then, is the chronological line between Classes III and IV exactly to be drawn? *Ex hypothesi*, considerably later than 1200 B.C., and (if we may regard the Merj Khamis seals as the earliest specimens of Class IV) at some date following an epoch of renewed Assyrian expansion westwards. The expansion of the Assyrian Empire, in the ninth century, even if we antedate it a little, can hardly be the epoch desired; for the North Semitic art which it carried along with it was too highly developed to have resulted in so rude and primitive a glyptic style as that of the Merj Khamis seals. But the latest expansion of the First Assyrian Empire under Tiglath Pileser I in the late twelfth century might account for it. If a reasonable lapse of time be allowed, after the Assyrian raid across Euphrates, for the elimination of the old well-rooted Hattic

style and the subsequent substitution of new artistic influences, Assyrian and Moschian—necessarily slow processes—the establishment of the ‘Merj Khamis’ style in Syria and the line of division between Classes III and IV may be fixed approximately to before the middle of the tenth century.

The most Assyrianizing of the Yunus types, then, should fall in the succeeding ninth century: for their style follows directly on that of Merj Khamis. Other Yunus types, however (e.g. the stamp-seals nos. 254–259), are not so Assyrian, but, rather, indicate the revival of a native style, which becomes predominant over the Assyrian in the types of Deve Huyuk I (cp. nos. 255 ff.). The latter owe more to Egyptian and to Neo-Babylonian art. Such a revival is consistent with North Syrian history in the ninth and eighth centuries, during which period records of the Second Assyrian Kingdom show the ‘Hatti’ land and cities as autonomous, wealthy, and intimately connected with Asia Minor (at the beginning of Sargon’s reign, about 722 B.C., Carchemish was in league with the King of the Cappadocian Mushkaya). For these Yunus and Deve Huyuk I types, therefore, I propose the latter part of the ninth and all the eighth and the seventh centuries. With Sargon’s conquest, in the last quarter of the eighth century, we should look for a reinforcement of the Assyrianizing tendency; and it is possible that the style of the earliest Deve Huyuk II types¹ belongs to the seventh century, during three-quarters of which all North Syria was in Sargonid occupation; but since the great mass of the graves in that cemetery are, certainly, of the earlier Persian Age, I believe that the most typical representatives of the seventh century are to be sought rather in the numerous group of seals not usually distinguished from late Assyrian (cp. *Bibl. Nat. Cat.* nos. 342, &c., &c.), but found very frequently in Syrian or north-west Mesopotamian soil, of which I have appended typical specimens in figs. 94–97.

The foregoing evidence concerning Class IV has been obtained from Syrian explorations. How far it can be used legitimately to date the later Cappadocian glyptic is doubtful. The few published seals certified as found on Cappadocian soil include hardly any representatives of so late a period as that of our Class IV. Among the glyptic objects procured by Chantre from Cappadocian sites, I can assign none to it with confidence. His no. 4, for example, procured at Yuzgat (op. cit., fig. 129, published upside down), which he conjectures to have been brought from Boghazkeui, should belong to Class III. His nos. 6, 7 (this last Sassanian, *pace* Sayce, who is quoted), 8 and 9 are all post-Hittite. The only possible specimens of Class IV period are his nos. 14 (scaraboid of the domed type?), 16 (late stud?), 18 (scaraboid), and 24 (late hemispheroid, more probably of Class III). All the seals, figured after these in Chantre’s book, are Perso-Mesopotamian, late Egyptian, and Sassanian; and his moulds are Byzantine or early Arab.

(2) Turning from excavation evidence to the more subjective inferences which may be drawn from the comparison of Hittite glyptic with contemporary alien arts (a method which I have been obliged to anticipate to some extent), we find the following indications.

(a) Specimens in Class I are deeply indebted for the conception, composition, style, and execution of their subjects to the Babylonian art of the First Dynasty, and,

¹ Published by C. L. Woolley in *Liverpool Annals*, vii. p. 115, ‘A North Syrian Cemetery of the Persian Period’.

perhaps, to even earlier Babylonian culture. If such a cylinder as no. 5 is not itself actually Babylonian (see p. 51), its model should be as old as the art of Ur. In any case, stylistic comparisons support our ascription of Class I to a period well before the rise of the Hattic Power. It is to be noted further, that these seals, besides being so Babylonian in type that their distinction from actual Babylonian seals is, in many instances, open to doubt, almost all exhibit subject-schemes of more complicated character than the seals in Class II. Indeed, schemes grow steadily more simple as the series proceeds through these two classes. This fact suggests an historical inference—that, in the first part of the second millennium B.C., Syria stood in far closer relation to Babylonian civilization than she would stand again, and must then have been, to all intents, a cultural province of Babylonia. A change came, no doubt, with the appearance of the forces of the Eighteenth Dynasty, which inaugurated about a century of dependence on Egypt; and though the Nilotic influence was so lightly enforced and so intermittent that it has left little positive trace on contemporary Syrian glyptic, it served, probably, to oust the Babylonian, and throw Syria back on her own local culture. The first part of this inference coincides with the indications given by the early painted pottery of Carchemish and Sakjegeuzi (see p. 2).

(b) Class II illustrates decay of the Babylonian glyptic tradition and relapse into a cruder local style (see p. 53), which, however, contained germs of development. The influence of a Mesopotamian art, partly earlier, partly contemporary (and probably Assyrian), was never, indeed, wholly inoperative, and did, in fact, inspire the makers of some of the more elaborate Class II seals, as, for example, our nos. 41, 44, 45; but there is nothing characteristic in the subjects of any of these or of others which invites direct comparison with dated Mesopotamian models, unless the analogy between the form and subjects of nos. 47, 48, and those of cylinders of the later Kassite epoch be held to argue a direct relation. The identity of the forms and subjects of certain Syrian seals in this class with those of seals hailing from Cappadocia has already been used (p. 94) for what chronological value it may have. Unfortunately, no Cappadocian seal which I believe to be of this period can be dated except by stylistic comparison.

(c) For dating the seals of Class III comparative use can be made of other arts besides the Mesopotamian.

(i) *Cappadocian and Syrian monumental art.* The affinities of Cappadocian art with such members of Class III as, e.g., nos. 164, 188, 196, and also with such Bullae as nos. 313, 314, and one shown in fig. 114, have already been noticed. Unfortunately the dating of Cappadocian Hittite sculptures does not rest on any sure or independent basis. The affinities of sculptures at Carchemish and Sindjerli with (*inter alia*) nos. 167, 168, have also been noted. While the dating of these sculptures is not well assured by independent evidence, they cannot, in any case, be placed so early as the Hattic Age.

(ii) *Late Aegean art.* For Aegean affinities with Hittite glyptic, the commentary on nos. 185, 186, 187, 196, 197 should be consulted. If the Aegean art, which inspired nos. 185, 186, was that of Cyprus in the last part of the Late Minoan Age, and we allow a reasonable lapse of time for its influence to be carried to the mainland and become potent there, the twelfth century B.C. is the earliest epoch which can have produced these seals. They could hardly have been made, in any case, before the Aegean Diaspora, which falls, roughly, in the early years of the thirteenth century; and they should be considerably later.

(iii) *Egyptian art.* The most instructive of our seals in this connexion is no. 179, though it may not be, strictly speaking, Hittite (see p. 69). The figure there seen,

holding a *crux ansata*, can be derived from no model prior to the Eighteenth Dynasty, and suggests rather the art of the latest Ramesside Age.

(d) On the chronology of Class IV I have nothing of importance to add to what has been said on pp. 95 ff.

On the whole, stylistic comparisons support the association evidence in assigning Class I to the First Age (see p. 2) : Classes II and III to a period extending from the sixteenth century to the close of the eleventh, and coincident with the Second and Third Ages taken together (not only Class II but a part of Class III also falls within the Second Age) : and Class IV to the Fourth Age.

II. *Local Origin*

Can the different types of seal-form and of subject-scheme be referred also to distinct parts of the Hittite area? Exploration has not yet been general or thorough enough, especially in Asia Minor, for this to be done otherwise than partially and tentatively. But there are grounds already for assigning some types of both form and subject to particular localities. It will be convenient to use the morphological scheme of classification set out in Chapter I (p. 17) in stating these grounds.

A. *Roller-seals or Cylinders*. Reasons for deriving this seal-form from a south-eastern locality (Babylonia), and for restricting its main vogue at all times to the southern half of the area (inclusive of Cilicia), have been stated already on p. 94. While it is not suggested that the cylinder was never made or used in Cappadocia, it may be inferred that it was introduced there later than into Syria (probably not before the last century of the Hattic Age) and never passed into vulgar use.

As for particular types of cylinder, the following more precise ascriptions are suggested.

(a) *Central North Syria* (district of the upper Sajur) was probably the home of the Loop-bore : this form possibly was not produced elsewhere in the Hittite area (see p. 54).

(b) *Cilicia* claims (i) the groups represented by our nos. 178, 179, 180, 181, 182 (see p. 70), which show subject-schemes of pronouncedly eclectic character, to which Hittite, Mesopotamian, and Egyptian art all contribute elements. The execution is of advanced technique in two manners, one very delicately graven but meticulous, the other (perhaps later) richer, broader, and more realistic. If this ascription, together with that to be proposed presently for certain handled stamp-seals, be well founded, it offers support from the Hittite side to those scholars who, using Egyptian or Aegean evidence, have argued for a comparatively high civilization in Cilicia in the second millennium B.C.

From geographical considerations and from what is known about the cultural affinities of Cilician society in all ages, we should expect a Cilician-Moschian glyptic art, though fundamentally Hittite, to have derived much from Mesopotamia ; but also to show obligations to the Egyptian and the Cypro-Aegean arts. Small objects of Egyptian and Egyptizing character are of frequent occurrence in Cilician marts. Chantre, for example, procured two scarabs even at Sis, which lies as far inland as any place in Cilicia (*Cappadoce*, p. 162, figs. 156, 157) ; and Greville Chester has noted 'Tarsus' or 'Cilicia' as the provenance of many objects of similar character in the collections which he gave, sold, or bequeathed to the Ashmolean. In the question of Cypro-Aegean relations with Cilicia is involved also a second group.

(ii) This is represented by our nos. 184, 185, 186, 187. The Aegean and other affinities of these cylinders have been noted on p. 71. They are almost certainly not actual Aegean products, the cylinder having been very rarely, if ever, made west of Cyprus. Nor, in all probability, are any of them Cypriote, since all their subjects are distinct both in general character and in detail from those proper to cylinders of Cyprus, both 'pre-Mycenean' and 'Mycenean'. But at the same time they betray obvious relations to Cyprus (nos. 184, 186) and even to Crete (no. 185), while Syro-Hattic (nos. 184, 185), Mesopotamian (nos. 184, 185), and, in the least degree, Egyptian (no. 185) features also enter into their composition. Manifestly we have to do here with an East Levantine *Mischkultur*, which was not pure Aegean or pure Cyprian, not sufficiently Egyptizing to be Phoenician, not even sufficiently Hittite to be North Syrian. I can only suggest that it was Cilician, and, in justification, compare the fine style and workmanship of the members of this second group with the later members of the first group just discussed. Something more will be said on this whole matter in connexion with certain Handled forms of Stamp-seals.

(c) *Cappadocia* (or some other part of Eastern Asia Minor) must be held responsible for the type represented by our nos. 164, 165, 166, whose subjects, while betraying some Mesopotamian influence, are without Egyptian elements, and show distinctively Hittite spirit and style. The fact that one of the most characteristic examples of this type, an Aidin cylinder in the Louvre (see p. 67), is of West Anatolian provenance, supports this ascription. But even stronger support comes from certain stamp-seals, engraved in a similar style, which will be considered presently.

There are other groups, e.g. the Cremation period cylinders of Yunus and Deve Huyuk I types respectively, to which particular local origins might be assigned; but only by pure conjecture, based on data too isolated and too uncertain for the attempt to be worth making now.

B. *Stamp-seals*. The data from Cappadocia are too scanty at present for the northern origin of the Hittite Stamp-seal in general, and of all the Handleless shapes (except scaraboids) in particular, to be much better than a hypothesis. As for *Handled* shapes, however, the invention of the more elaborate types—Knobs, Tripods, and Hammers—is almost certainly extra-Syrian, being either Cappadocian or Cilician, but probably the former. If this be so, it is reasonable to suppose the origin of shapes morphologically prior to these, viz. Stalks and Studs, to have been northern also. While it is just possible that Loops were derived from the Egyptian button-seal, it is not probable, in view both of the chronological interval between the latest vogue of the Egyptian button-seal and the earliest Hittite Loops, and also of the simplicity of the form. Loop-handles might easily have been developed independently by any society prone to the use of stamp-seals.

I can offer no conclusive proofs of these general propositions. But they have in their favour the presumption that the Syrian area, long addicted to the exclusive use of the roller-seal, which it had derived from Babylonia (see p. 94) and continued to employ generally to the end, would have been less likely than Cappadocia to invent the stamp. Syrians would hardly have originated such a change any more than did the Babylonians, who, we know, as a matter of fact, hardly used stamp-seals till a very late age. On the other hand, the Cappadocians, who, on present evidence (see p. 94), appear not to have had roller-seals of their own so early as the Syrians, and never to have made them until they had long been used to stamps, are not unlikely to have invented the latter at an early period in order to be able to sign (as they saw Assyrians and Babylonians

sign) clay documents. The use of these began in Cappadocia in the early days of the Hattic Power, if not before (see p. 2). I venture to imagine that the first Hattic glyptist, unable to make, bore, or engrave satisfactorily a cylindrical seal, or deterred by those practical disadvantages which undoubtedly prevented cylinders from coming into fashion at all in the Aegean and Greek areas, or being popular even with the Phoenicians, set himself to produce such a sphragistic implement as would make in one motion an impression of the same shape as those due to roller-seals, and take a suspensory bore. To serve his purpose, using the greatest economy in material, he evolved the *Gable*. This I regard as the earliest Hittite form of stamp-seal. That it was in early and apparently common use in North Cappadocia I have argued already (p. 94) from Chantre's discoveries.

The *Hemispheroid* may also have been developed in the same region from the discovery that the more bevelled the angles of a *Gable*, the more satisfactory the impression it left on the clay; and the slight carination of some specimens also may have survived from *Gables*. Another feature common to the latter and to some hemispheroids is extreme economy of material; our nos. 78, 132, &c., for example, are sections of a sphere about as thin as can be cut. If this suggestion of derivation is sound, the carinated type must be held the earliest Hittite hemispheroid shape, and the nearer the shape of any specimen to a true hemisphere, the later it should be morphologically. Semi-bullae, the most truly hemispherical of all Hittite 'hemispheroids', are also about the latest (see p. 88).

On the other hand, it must be admitted that the close resemblance between some Hittite carinated hemispheroids and an Aegean type, which is probably older (see p. 19), encourages an alternative theory of the origin of the former—from the Mediterranean via Cilicia.

In regard to *Scaraboids*, since the shape is, notoriously, of Egyptian origin, Syrian priority must be presumed for all Hittite types of it.

Conoids cannot be assigned to a local origin on actual evidence. That in point of date all are comparatively late is probable (p. 85); but although almost all Hittite specimens so far found are Syrian, and although it was in the south (including Mesopotamia) that the shape certainly had its greatest vogue, the fact that the conoid shown in fig. 104, which is among the earliest of its species both in shape and subject-scheme, is of reputed Cappadocian provenance, warns us to leave the question of local origin open.

Passing to *Handled* stamps, I can say nothing more definite about the local origin of *Stalks*, *Loops*, and *Studs* than that it is more likely to have been Cappadocian than Syrian. In common with all handled shapes, these probably originated later than the earliest types of handleless stamps—i.e. in the Hattic Age itself, when the whole Hittite area was under one cultural (as one political) influence. *Stalks*, as has been said (p. 20), are of very various form: some might more properly be regarded as badly or oddly shaped *Studs* (e.g. our nos. 52, 139), while others are mere freaks. The only specimens which look morphologically early are those in which the ridge of a *Gable* or the dome of a *Hemispheroid* has been drawn upwards into a tapering spike, for convenience of handling. Such are our nos. 79, 132, 137 (cp. their sections), of which the respective provenances are Tartus, Aleppo, and Smyrna. It can be inferred that *Stalks* were in use widely during the period of Class II; but that they may have originated in one part of the area as well as in another.

About the local origin of *Loops* and *Studs* one can say nothing more precise. One stud, whose subject looks fairly early, was procured by Chantre in Cappadocia (op. cit., p. 161, no. 16, 'muni d'un bouton'). The majority of our examples of both forms were obtained in Syria, a small minority being from Cilicia and the Smyrna mart.

The data of origin are less equivocal for Knobs, Tripods, and Hammers. All, doubtless, are elaborate variants of the Stud, and closely related one to another, the Tripod being a metallic edition of the other two forms. On morphological grounds one would judge the Hammer to have been the latest developed.

No *Knob*, whose provenance is known at all, hails from Syria. Of our three specimens (nos. 192, 193, 197), it is reported that one came from Cilicia and two from Asia Minor. None, to my knowledge, has ever been found in Syria or can be traced to a Syrian source. As for *Tripods*, the source of every specimen, if ascertained, is extra-Syrian. Bor in south-west Cappadocia, Samsun (?) on the Pontic coast, and Tamassos in Cyprus, are the places from which came the three specimens in the Ashmolean of whose provenance we have any knowledge. A specimen in Berlin, recorded by Meyer (*Chetiter*, fig. 35, p. 44, note 2) as 'von Winckler erworben', was procured probably in Cappadocia. The *Hammers* of ascertained provenance are also extra-Syrian, with the exception of two specimens of late degraded forms (our nos. 254, 255), bought in Levantine coastal marts. Our no. 196 was procured in Cilicia: one in the British Museum (no. 17804) is reported to have come from Yuzgat in Cappadocia; the fine specimen illustrated in fig. 79 was first seen at Aidin in Lydia; Chantre has published one of late type procured at Boghazkeui (op. cit., p. 160, fig. 135).¹ I know of none discovered by an excavator in Syria.

I take, therefore, all these three elaborate seal-shapes to be proper to Asia Minor. They were used doubtless for the signets of kings and princes in the great period of Hattic power, the late fourteenth and the thirteenth centuries B.C. That they are not found in Hittite Syria may be explained by the presumption that Hattic kings and princes never actually resided there, their Empire being based, not on territorial occupation, but on the obedient adhesion of client states administered by their own kinglets, such as the princes of Carchemish mentioned on tablets of the latest Hattic kings.

The only remaining question is whether, on the strength of the provenance of our nos. 196 and 188, and the supposed provenance and Aegean features of our no. 197—these three being representatives of all the seal-shapes in question—Cilicia rather than Cappadocia is to be supposed the place of their invention and first manufacture. The reply must be, on present evidence, in the negative. Apart from the fact that many specimens of all three forms are of extra-Cilician provenance, we must reckon both with some examples of earlier and more pronouncedly Cappadocian style, than we have assigned to Cilicia in speaking of cylinders, and also with others exhibiting characteristically Cappadocian subjects. Of the first category, the broken Berlin hammer figured by Meyer (*Chetiter*, pl. iv and p. 45) is a good example. It is an early member of the family, which is represented by our cylinders nos. 165, 166, and clearly Cappadocian, not Levantine. In the second category our no. 192 and several seals in the Louvre (see p. 73) may be

¹ Also the fine seal with broken handle published by Meyer (*Chetiter*, pl. iv) and commented on by Prinz (ibid., p. 145 ff.) was, doubtless, of hammer

form when complete. Prinz states of it, 'Als Provenienz lässt sich mit ziemlicher Sicherheit Boghazkiöi ermitteln'.

cited. Cappadocia, then, must be credited with the invention of these handled seal-forms; though, doubtless, they were copied in Cilicia and sometimes engraved, under Aegean influence (as was, e.g., the Tamassos tripod), with decorative schemes proper to Semi-bullae and Bullae.

Upon the local origins of the Bulla and Semi-bulla, enough has been said already to render further discussion unnecessary. A Cilician origin and vogue of Semi-bullae rest on grounds stated on p. 89. About the origin of Bullae nothing can be said definitely at present. The available evidence demonstrates their vogue in the Syrian area from the middle Hattic Age down to about the end of Hittite glyptic. It also suggests that they were known in both Cappadocia and Cilicia, in the earlier part, at any rate, of that long period; but it does not avail to establish the locality of their invention.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

'HITTITE' glyptic art was born originally in North Syria;¹ but whether among a people of true Hattic race we are not able to say. The impulse had been given by Babylonian art, as a consequence (in all likelihood) of the political expansion northwards which was promoted by the stronger kings of the First Dynasty. If so, the beginnings of North Syrian glyptic should fall towards the end of the third millennium B.C. So strong is the Babylonian influence apparent in the earliest Syrian seals, contrasted with those of the succeeding class, that they invite the same conclusion which is suggested by a comparison of early Syrian and Susian painted pottery—namely, that Syria had been in very close cultural dependence on Babylonia before the Hattic Imperial period. The appearances argue, indeed, that political Empire had been extended over North Syria by the First Babylonian Dynasty.

The earliest Hittite sphragistic implement was the roller-seal or cylinder, and for a considerable period, in Syria at least, it remained the only one. Soft stones (steatites, serpentines, and limestones) were used by the first Syrian glyptists and worked with point, drill, and chisel. The dimensions of the cylinder were those common in Babylonia under the First Dynasty, the usual proportion of length to thickness being as two to one. The glyptic subjects followed Babylonian models in reproducing, e.g. schematic groups of monsters rampant and interlocked, with demon figures 'supporting' (or in combat), and also seated figures opposed; but the artists tended more and more, as time went on, to introduce elements from a local mythology.

Babylonian artistic influence began to weaken as political relations became less intimate after the establishment of Kassite rule, about 1700 B.C. The subjects of Syrian seals came to be composed of simpler and more distinctive elements, though they retain the schematic arrangements of Babylonia; and we find for the first time a peculiar manner of intaglio, described on p. 58 ff. The latter change was due no doubt to the adoption of a different tool to make the first main incisions, perhaps the chisel instead of the drill, and, to some extent, of the point also (see p. 23). Cylinders also become shorter and thicker.

This detachment of North Syria from Babylonian culture was accelerated, doubtless, by inclusion, however informal, in the Egyptian sphere of influence, after the sixteenth century B.C., to which, probably, such cylinders as our nos. 17-22 belong.

This transitional stage was succeeded not only by a further development of independence in both the forms and the subjects of cylinders to a point at which Babylonian influence virtually sank out of sight, but also by the adoption of a new sphragistic implement, the Stamp-seal. When we note that the earlier Hittite shapes of stamp are not found in Mesopotamian glyptic, but occur fairly frequently in the comparatively small body of Cappadocian *Kleinfunde*, we see some reason to ascribe their invention to Asia Minor and their introduction in Syria to the southward extension of Hattic

¹ Cappadocian sealings, possibly of the Ur period, being excluded from consideration as not proving, in

any case, local glyptic production; i.e. the imprints may have been made with Mesopotamian seals.

power at the close of the fifteenth century. The cylinder seems never to have been popular in Cappadocia, and it is highly probable that stamp-seals of the Gable, Hemispheroid, Loop, Stud, and Stalk classes were first invented in that part of the Area and continued to be used for sealing by almost all Cappadocian Hittites throughout the Hattic period. Towards the end of this, however, they were supplemented by the elaborate Knob, Hammer, and Tripod forms, developed from the Stud.¹ In Syria, however, the cylinder, already firmly established, was not ousted by the invading stamp-seals, but continued in vogue with the richer classes. Gables, however, and the other common stamp shapes, meeting a vulgar demand, made good their footing alongside the cylinder and kept it until the appearance of conoids and scaraboids.

All the earlier stone stamp-seals are made (without any exception known to me) of coarse and soft materials; metal examples (bronze) are very rare. The majority of specimens have been engraved with chisel and point alone, and their art never aspires to nearly such high achievement as the art of the cylinders. The artistic high-water mark of, e.g., Gables is represented by such specimens as our nos. 101 and 137. Stamps in Syria, from first to last, were cheap seals used by the common-folk; but in Cappadocia, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they were probably the only sphragistic implements used by any one who was not royal or in high office.

Not stamp-seals alone, but also roller-seals, of the Second Age show marked independence of Mesopotamia. The squat form, which is foreign to the latter, but characteristic of Early Egyptian glyptic, illustrates this independence, while, perhaps (like the 'rudimentary' scarab, whose form, but not its subject elements, is owed indirectly to the Nile), it indicates some measure of new dependence on Egypt. The subjects of all types of seals have now become in the main *sui generis*—predominantly local, not to be confounded with those of any other glyptic family. Our pl. ii-v will convince any one of their peculiarity. Except a few which bear geometric designs, and still fewer which remind us of Aegean or of Egyptian art, they are distinctively 'Hittite'—far more so than in either the earlier or the later periods.

Such a cultural phenomenon, it need hardly be pointed out, agrees excellently with the political conditions prevailing in the Hittite area in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries. These witnessed the rise and expansion of the Cappadocian Hatti as an aggressive particularist community, issuing from lands which, in the eyes of the old civilizations, were the 'Back of Beyond'. We might have presumed that such an irruption of new 'barbarians' into a land so debatable as North and Central Syria would eclipse for a time the influence of more remote centres of culture, but that when peace had long been re-established, and relations of diplomacy and commerce with former enemies had become habitual, the earlier influences would begin to manifest their power again.

The seals have illustrated the eclipse. They will also illustrate the return of light. If my sequence of subject-types is generally sound, it shows that a rapid development of glyptic art ensued upon the Class II period. Everything—material, form, conception of subject, technique, style—advances *per saltum* to the highest point of achievement ever reached by Hittite glyptists. Presumably this advance, beginning late in the fourteenth century, filled the thirteenth; and the florescence of so vigorous a style, with

¹ I find that this view of the origin of the Hittite stamp-seals and their Cappadocian use (at which I arrived long ago) is, substantially, implied in a note by Dr. Hugo Prinz in E. Meyer's *Chetiter* (p. 145),

although it is not quite clear that he is speaking of any but the elaborate forms ('Petschafte und das Knopfsiegel').

its inevitable sequel of gradually quickening decadence, may have lasted on a long time, perhaps as much as two centuries more—at any rate in Syria.

That Mesopotamian art recovered its paramount influence upon Hittite glyptic will be obvious to any one looking over the cylinder-subjects on pl. vi; and that the main spring of influence was now Assyrian is suggested by comparison of the few monuments of the First Empire extant. The same cultural influence now reached right into Cappadocia to inspire the conception and composition of the reliefs at Eyuk and Yasili Kaia; but there it was never to be so omnipotent as in Syria, if we may judge by comparison of the seals of the period, which can be ascribed to Asia Minor, with contemporary Syrian glyptic art.

Alongside this principal influence we can detect two other alien influences at work throughout the area to determine glyptic expression in the Third Age—the Ramesside Egyptian, and the Late Minoan; but most glyptic objects, which these influences have affected very seriously, are probably to be ascribed to the Levantine fringe of the Hittite area, and in particular to Cilicia. Here an eclectic art of *Mischkultur* kind seems to have developed, less in debt to Mesopotamia than was the Syrian glyptic, and more to Egypt, Cyprus, and Crete. Standing, however, in close relation to the Cappadocian culture of its time, it shared with the latter the production and use of new and elaborate stamp-seal types (Knobs, Tripods, and Hammers), whose invention in Asia Minor (if established) warns us that even now the northern part of the Hittite Area remained less dependent on Babylonian fashions than the southern part.

That the commoner varieties of stamp-seal, however, should have continued everywhere little affected by any of these foreign influences is what we should expect. The elder shapes continued to be made and inspired by the earlier local art; but they became less numerous and tended to disappear. This was due not only to multiplication of cylinders, but also to the invasion of two new types of stamp recommended by handy form and size. These were the Conoid and the Scaraboid. The last form-type, unquestionably of foreign (Egyptian) invention, probably was derived at second hand via Phoenicia or Cilicia. In the Cremation cemeteries, so far explored, the conoid and the scaraboid have been the only shapes of stamp-seal found (if rings with engraved bezels be not counted). All other shapes, both handleless and handled, seem to have gone out of use by the end of the ninth century at latest.

This brilliant phase of Hittite glyptic, which, according to our hypothesis, advanced rapidly to its zenith in the last half of the thirteenth century, was eclipsed, in Cappadocia, with equal rapidity at the end of that century, though a tradition of it may have lingered through a generation or two to come. But in Syria, though barbarian inroads took place both about 1200 and in the middle of the succeeding century, there was no such decisive interruption of culture. A distinctively Hittite art persisted in vigour there not only throughout the Third Age, but far into the Fourth. Various possibilities, besides previous Hittite influence on the Mushkaya, might explain the facts. The barbarian hordes, depleted in their southward progress, may have swept up into their following, or pushed before them, Hittite elements of population, which stranded in North Syria to reinforce the old culture: or the Mesopotamian artistic influence, which was stronger in Syria than in Cappadocia, may have helped the local culture to resist the invaders and eventually to absorb them. The fact remains, at any rate, that Hittite art did not die in Syria in the twelfth century. It is therefore not unreasonable to ascribe many Class III glyptic objects to that century or even the eleventh.

If the predominating influence on Syrian art throughout the third and fourth

glyptic periods was Assyrian, it had fluctuations of intensity, according with the political fluctuations of the home power. Very strong in the thirteenth century, it seems to have declined in the twelfth, and to have been revived for awhile by the conquests of Tiglath Pileser I, but afterwards to have fallen lower than before. That king's raids to the west lasted so short a time, and were followed by so sudden a shrinkage of Assyrian power, that we must suppose Syria by the eleventh century to have been more or less open again to receive any other artistic influence.

The earliest alien invasion which local remains of the Third Age show to have appeared was that of the racial element which introduced the custom of cremation, and, in apparent coincidence, a ceramic art of East Mediterranean character. The first traces of its action antedate by a little any clear evidence of that revival of Assyrian influence. The change which then took place in Syrian culture was too radical to have been effected merely by an influence acting from without. There must have been immigration and partial occupation by a foreign race. The indications point to the home of that race having been some district near the Levantine coast which had close relations with Cyprus; and among districts so circumstanced, Cilicia commends itself as the most likely.

On the glyptic, as on the plastic, art of Syria, however, the main determining agent was after all to be Assyrian art. From the tenth century onwards its influence is again paramount. But one important non-Assyrian debt at least was incurred about that date by Syrian glyptic. This was the material, glazed compost, which came into vogue about 1000 B.C. Neither glazed cylinders, nor glazed seals of any form are characteristic of Mesopotamia; but they are characteristic of Egypt, whence their use passed to certain Levantine lands, with which North Syria was in direct contact. This is to say that, while cylinders and other seals of Class IV owed the art of their subjects more to Mesopotamian culture than to any other external agency, they owed their material, and, in the case of scaraboids, their form also to a Mediterranean source, probably the same which has been credited above with the introduction of cremation.

Henceforward, until towards the end of the Hittite period, when the use of hard crystalline stones began to spread westwards from Mesopotamia, Hittite glyptists worked principally in glazed compost. But hard stones, e.g. haematite, were occasionally engraved by them (witness the Yunus scarab, fig. 99), and the steatites, serpentines (especially the red variety), and limestones were still in fairly frequent demand.

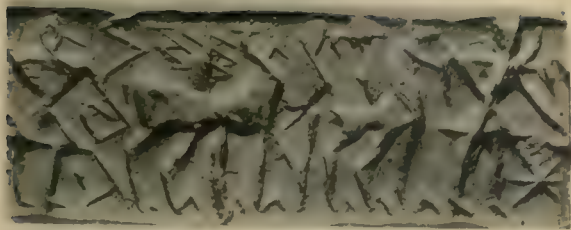
Although in the tenth, ninth, and eighth centuries B.C. the Hittite States of North Syria were politically vigorous and comparatively wealthy (the Assyrian reports of them have not been discredited by the architectural and plastic remains found on the site of Carchemish), the glyptic of the period is decadent. Even reckoning to it some of the latest seals of Class III, and allowing it all credit for the fine style and execution of such stamps as our nos. 254, 255, and of some conoids and scaraboids, we can apply no better epithet to its products as a whole. The subjects have become conventional, the style dry and lifeless, and the technique summary. The cunning manipulation of many tools, which had produced the fine work of Class III, is evident no longer. In the Assyrianizing style, if the drill was called in, it was usually employed to excess, and the engraver often neglected to work over his preliminary incisions.

The latest glyptic objects, which can be regarded as Hittite at all, show some affinities with Neo-Babylonian art, and must be presumed of the late seventh and the early sixth centuries. Thereafter North Syrian glyptic art, as illustrated by the latest grave-deposits of Deve Huyuk, takes on the cosmopolitan colour of the Perso-Mesopotamian Age.

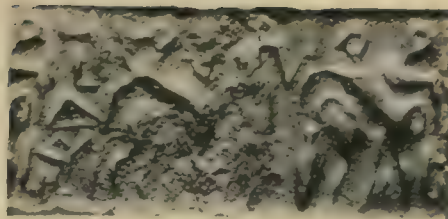
About Cappadocian glyptic of the Mushkayan period subsequent to the fall of Hattic power, no generalization can be ventured until we have more numerous and better certified remains of it. The probability is that the tradition of Hattic glyptic art long persisted in Asia Minor, especially in the south-east ; but this hypothesis cannot be put to the test till sites in Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Cilicia have been examined more systematically, deeply, and meticulously than has been the lot of any one of them up to the present time.

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 Woolley, C. L., vii, 3, 8, 11, 12, 49 ff., 80 ff.
- Yasili Kaia (Boghazkeui), 5, 7, 11 ff., 72.
 Yunus (Carchemish), 9, 12, 16, 79, 84, 96, 106.



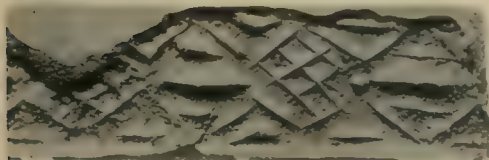
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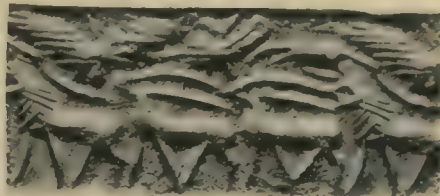
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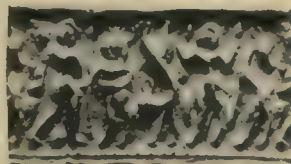
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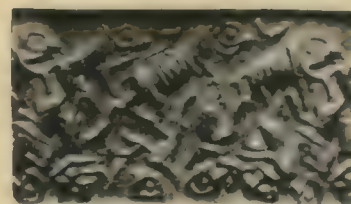
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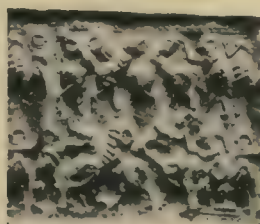
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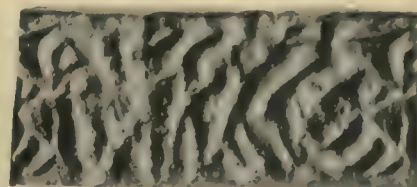
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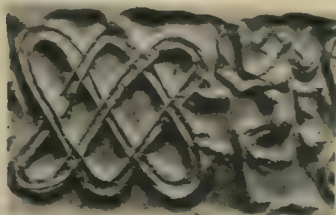
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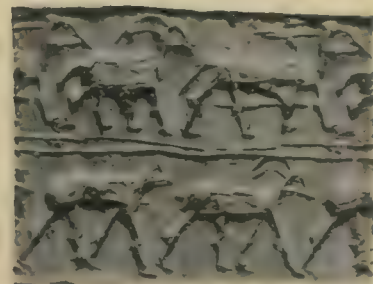
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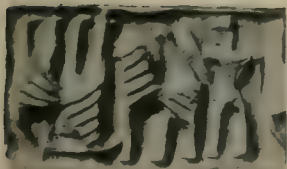
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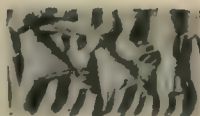
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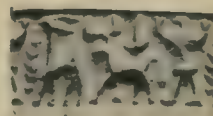
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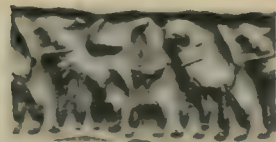
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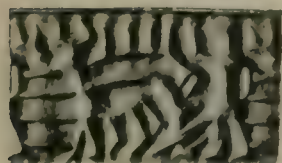
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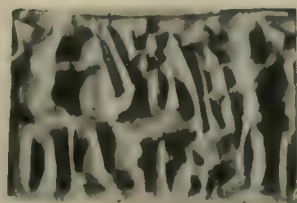
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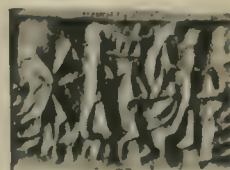
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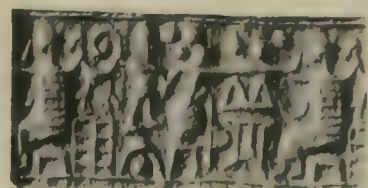
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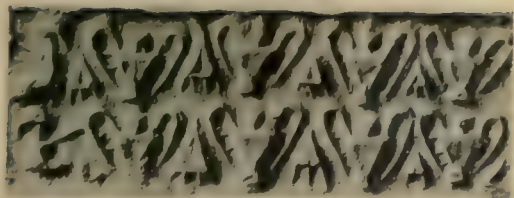
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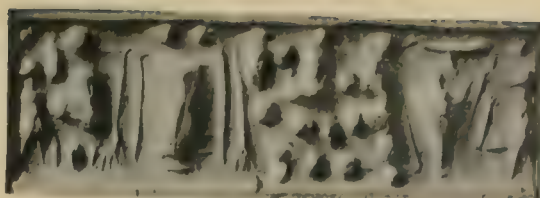
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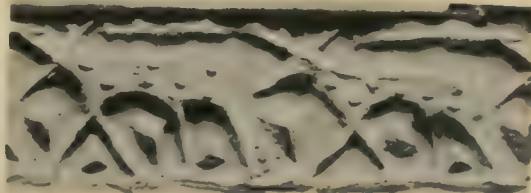
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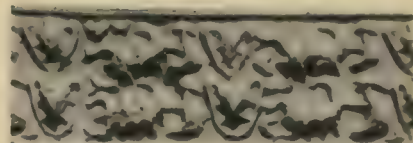
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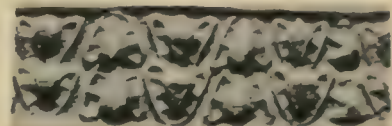
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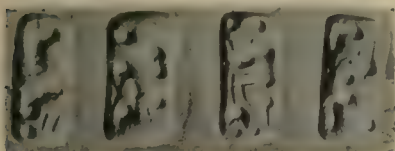
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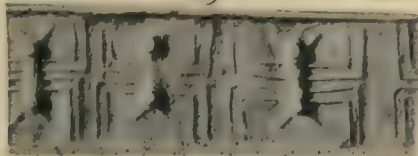
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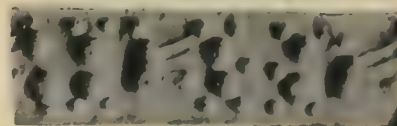
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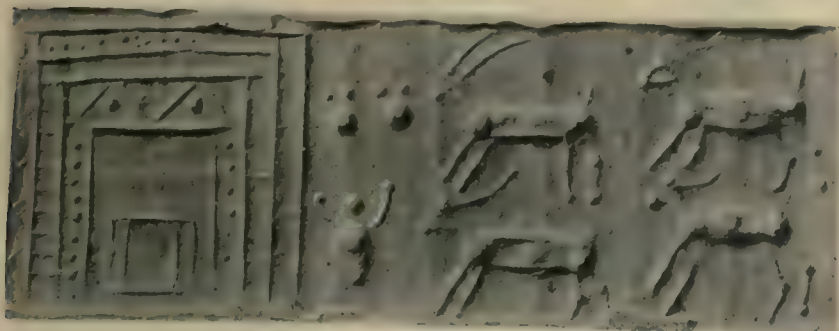
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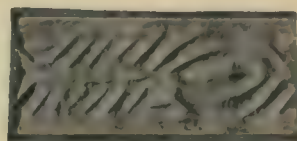
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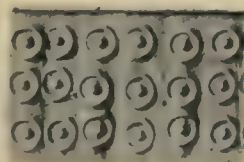
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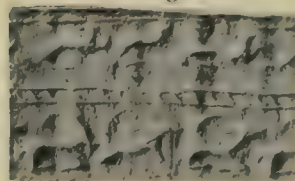
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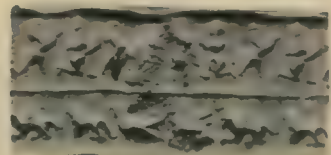
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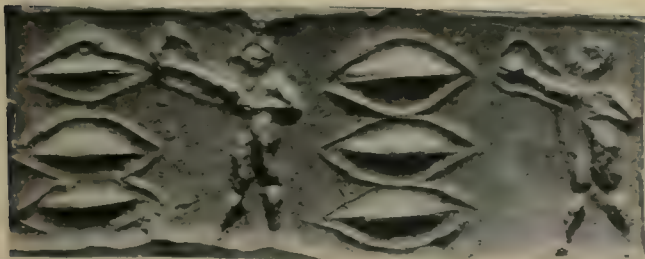
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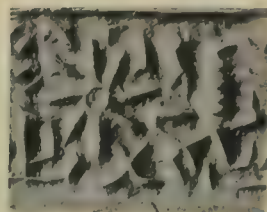
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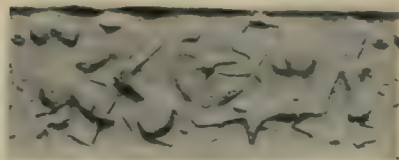
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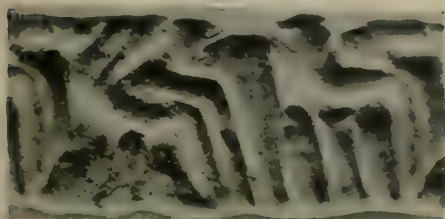
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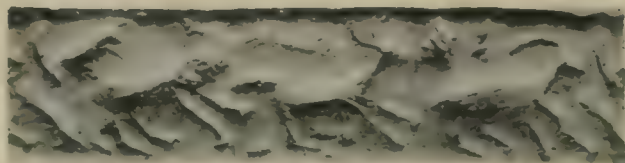
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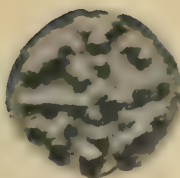
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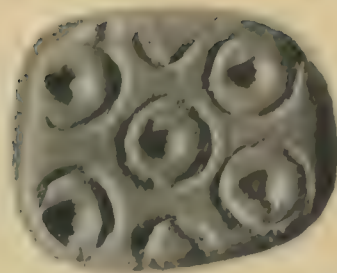
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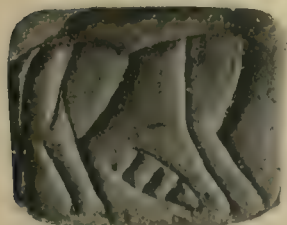
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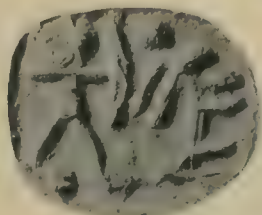
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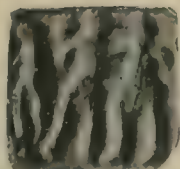
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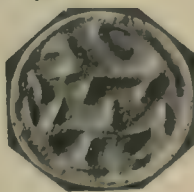
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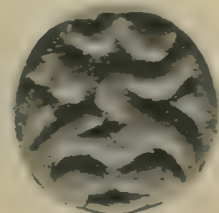
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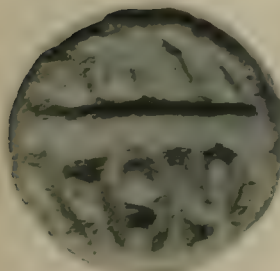
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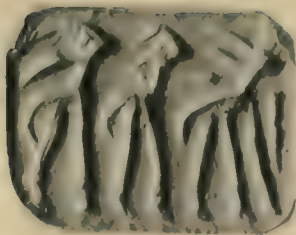
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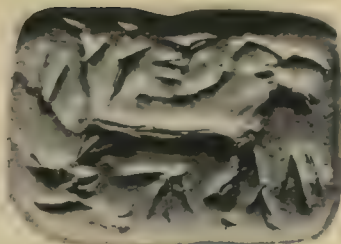
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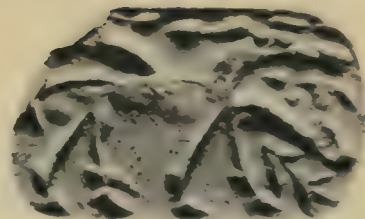
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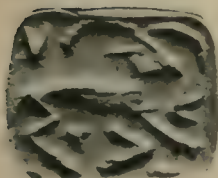
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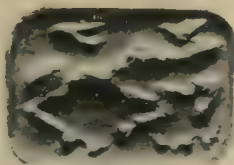
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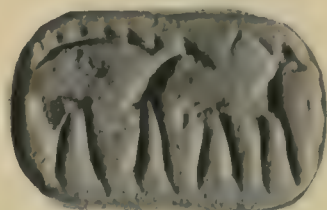
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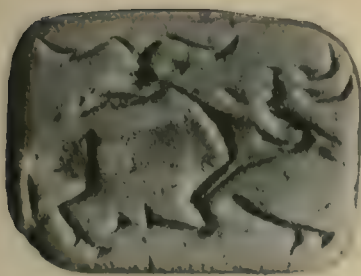
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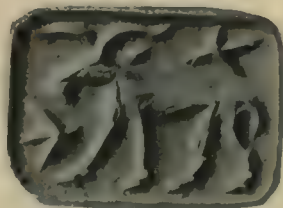
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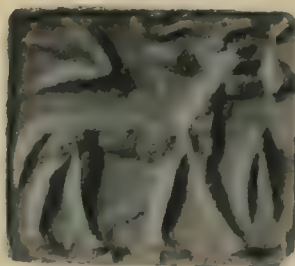
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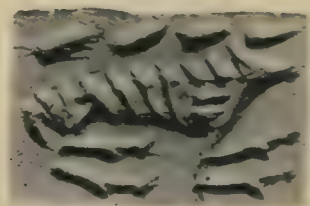
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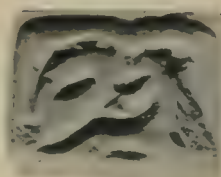
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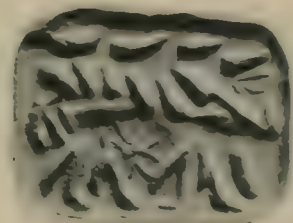
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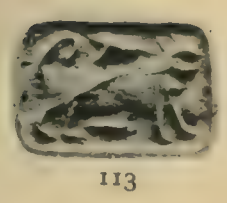
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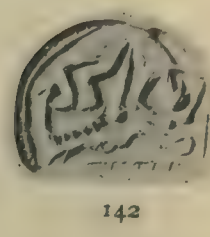
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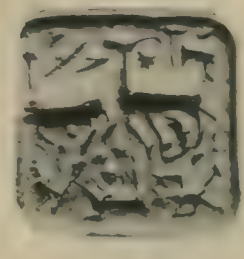
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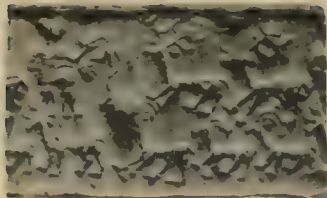
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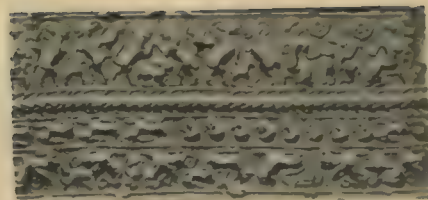
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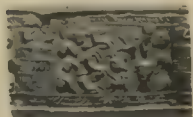
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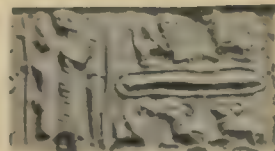
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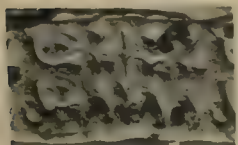
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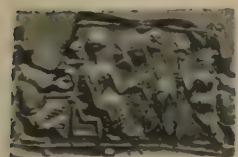
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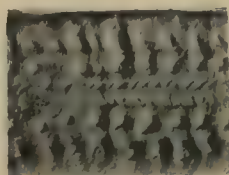
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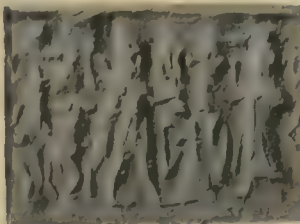
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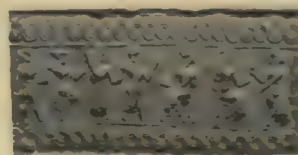
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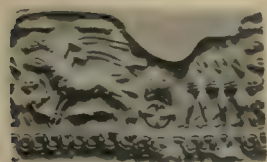
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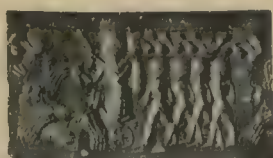
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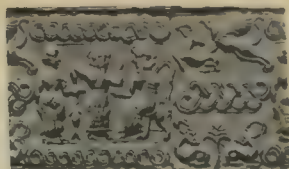
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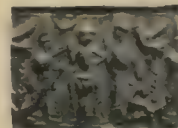
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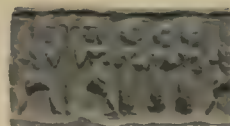
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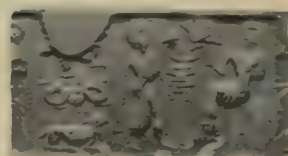
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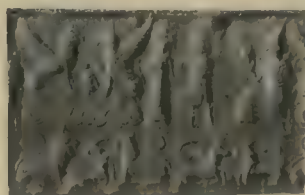
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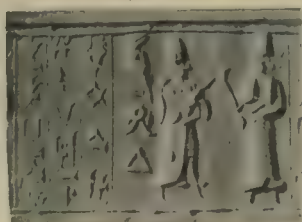
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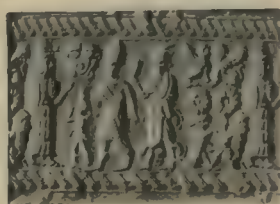
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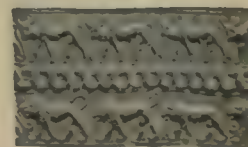
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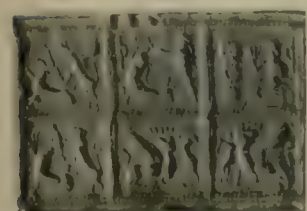
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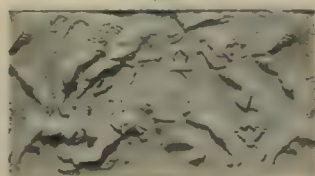
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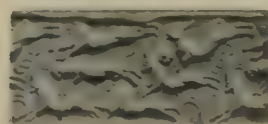
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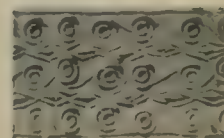
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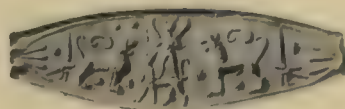
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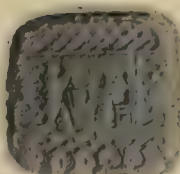
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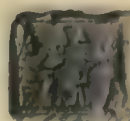
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199



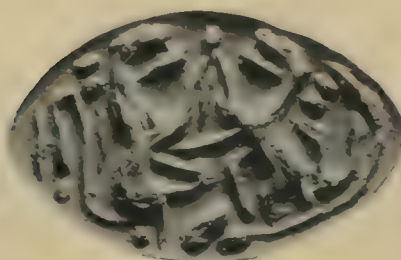
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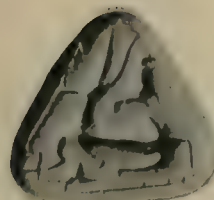
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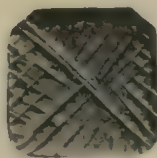
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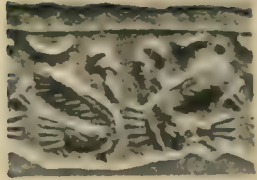
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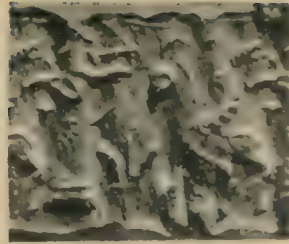
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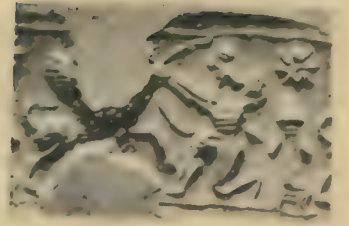
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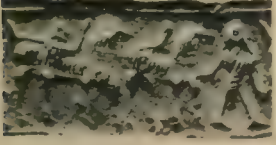
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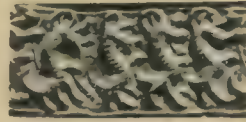
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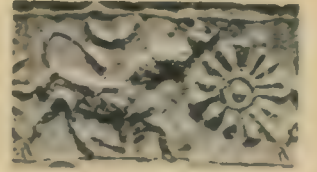
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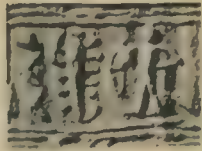
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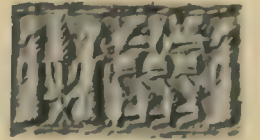
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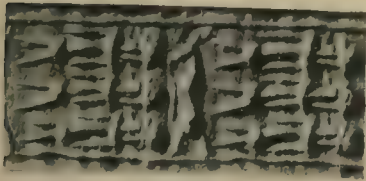
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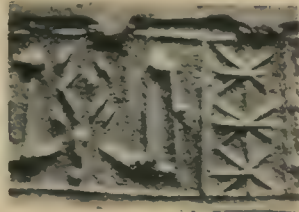
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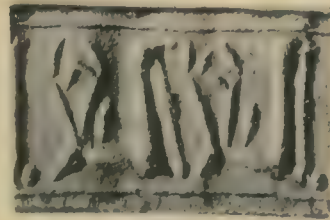
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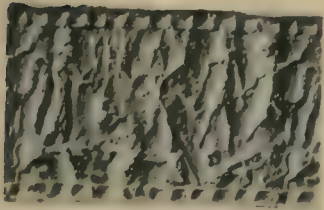
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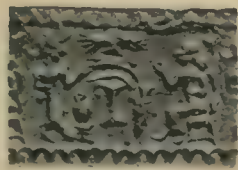
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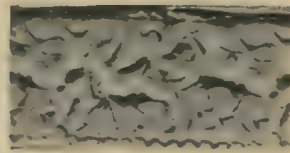
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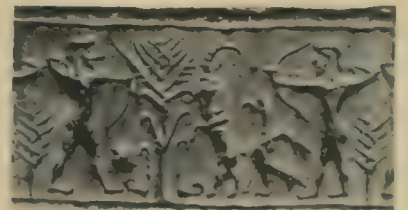
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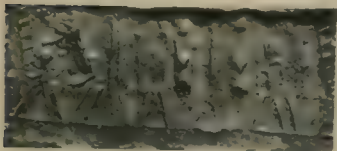
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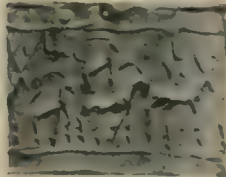
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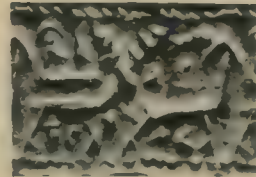
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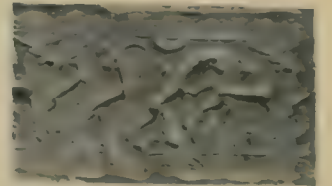
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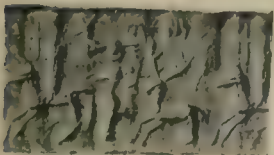
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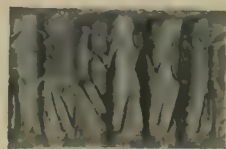
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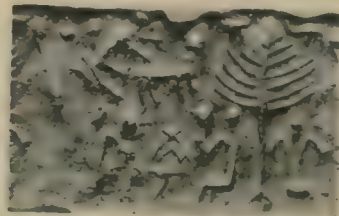
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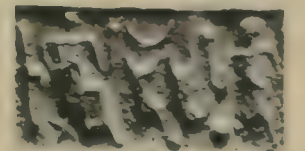
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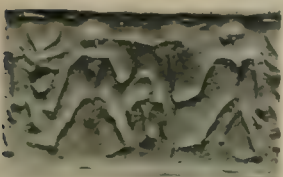
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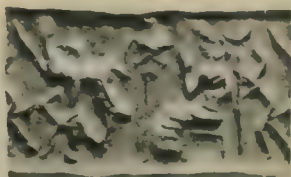
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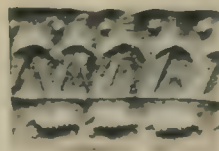
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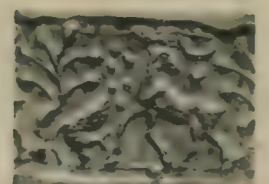
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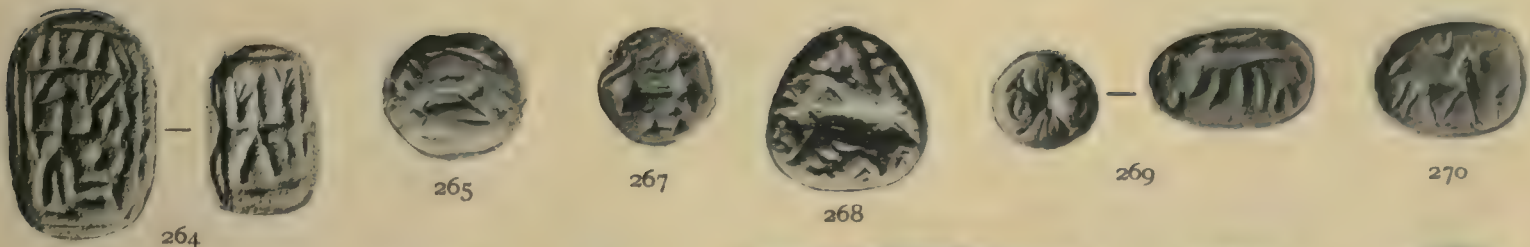
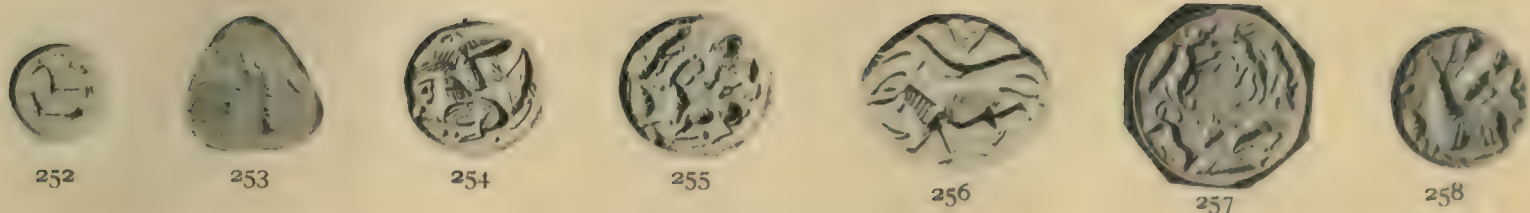
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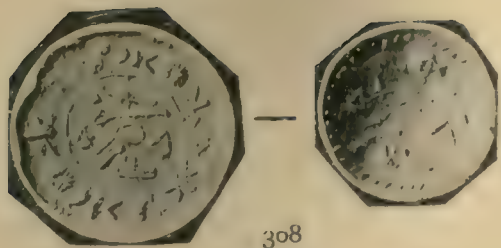


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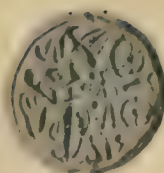
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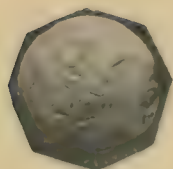
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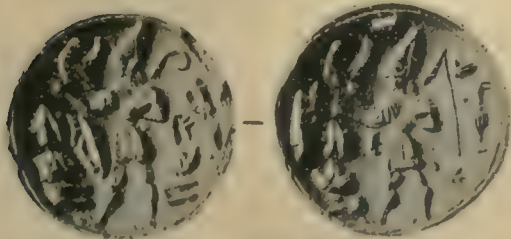
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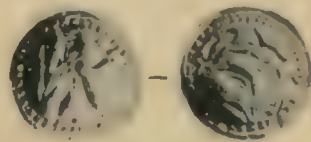
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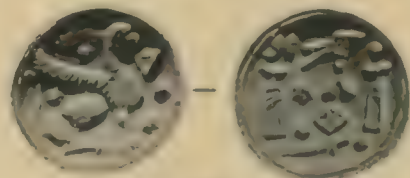
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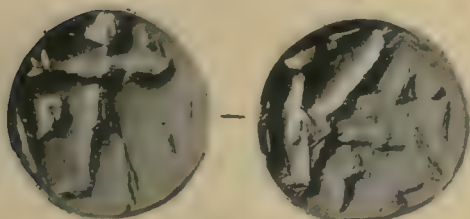
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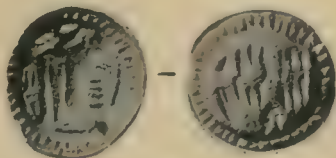
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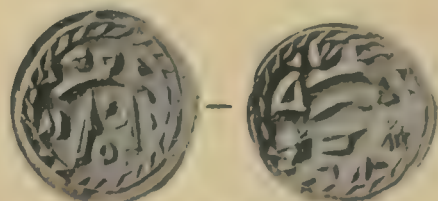
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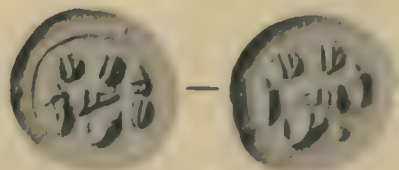
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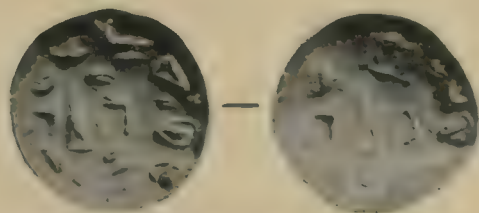
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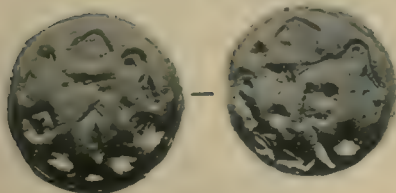
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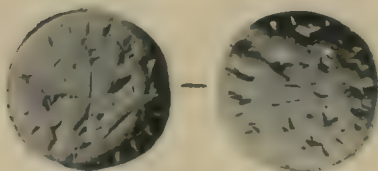
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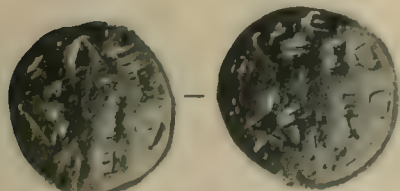
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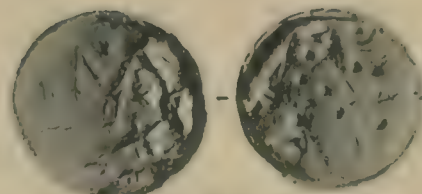
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